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AN EDITORIAL

ASST. ATTY. GENERAL ELSIE AUSTIN

*(She invites you to Columbus—See page 167)*

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# COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS

**Dillard University's** Prof. L. D. Reddick made history on April 11 when he addressed the Graduate School of Social Work of Tulane University on "The Negro Scholar and His South" His reception was unusually favorable.

---

**West Virginia State College** has received a grant of $5,500 to purchase equipment to be used in its trade and technical division. This gift, which comes from the General Education Board of New York City, will enable the institution to enlarge its vocational education program. **West Virginia State** reports that it will confer degrees on 93 candidates on June 6. Dr. Ambrose Caliver, U. S. Office of Education, will deliver the Commencement address.

---

**Bennett College** has received a gift of $1,000 from the prosperous Dr. Norman T. Cotton of Paterson, N. J., a former resident of Greensboro, N. C. Dr. Cotton also furnishes and maintains a private room at the L. Richardson Memorial Hospital in memory of his parents.

---

On May 7, Cortez Peters, noted professional speed typist, gave a demonstration at **Lincoln University,** Jefferson City, Mo. On the same day the University was the host of 200 Missouri high school seniors.

---

The Commencement address at **Bethune-Cookman College** was delivered by Dr. Frederick Douglass Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, on May 24.

---

The Commencement address at **Cheyney State Teachers College** was delivered by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University.

---

The Summer School of the Theatre will be held at **Atlanta University** for the second year. It is the first and only school of its kind to be maintained by an institution of higher education for Negroes.

---

The principal speaker at **Hampton Institute's** third annual Women's Day


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on May 7, was Miss Marion Cuthbert of the Y. W. C. A. National Board, N. Y. City, and also a director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

---

Dr. W. Montague Cobb, Associate Professor of Anatomy at **Howard University** School of Medicine, has been elected a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

---

**Bennett College** has recently dedicated a new dormitory to be known as Annie Merner Hall, the fourth given to the college by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Pfeiffer of New York, N. Y. Altogether these friends have given Bennett $447,000.

---

School No. 26 in Indianapolis, Ind., has been renamed "The John Hope School" in honor of the late President of **Atlanta University.**

---

**Fayetteville State Normal School** recently unveiled a beautiful stone monument honoring the late Dr. E. E. Smith, founder and until his death in 1933 the head of the institution. Dr. Smith at one time served as United States Minister to Liberia.

---

Six prominent Negro ministers of Richmond, Va., have each agreed to raise $2,000 in their churches for the $450,000 development program of **Virginia Union University.** Alumni and friends must raise $350,000 to get $100,000 from the General Education Board.


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**Parmele** (N.C.) **Training School** has installed a new curriculum for discovery of particular talents in elementary school pupils by using individual instruction. Friends and patrons of the school recently purchased a school bus, the drive being sponsored by Principal W. C. Chance.

---

St. Louis colored citizens were jubilant when they won their fight in December against the Board of Education's plan to build a colored grade school on the **Vashon high school** grounds, already too small.

---

**Augusta, Ga.,** Superintendent of Schools S. D. Copeland reports completion of three major Negro schools in recent years housing 3,000 children, and 14 new Negro school buildings in Richmond county. Last year saw establishment of a Negro high school in a renovated building. Teachers' salaries were generally increased last year. New teachers must have two years' college training beyond graduation from a standard school and hold a State Teacher's Certificate. High school teachers must be graduates of four-year colleges and hold State Certificate. Trained nurses look after the pupils' health.

---

The **Kentucky House of Representatives** late last month passed by 81 to 0 the Rural High School Educational Bill providing high school educational opportunities for rural Negro children. The bill was introduced by the colored representative from Louisville, **Attorney C. W. Anderson.**

**Shaw University** conferred degrees on 65 seniors on May 31, when Dr. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., of New York City, was the Commencement Day speaker.

---

**St. Paul N. & I. School** recently celebrated its 50th anniversary.

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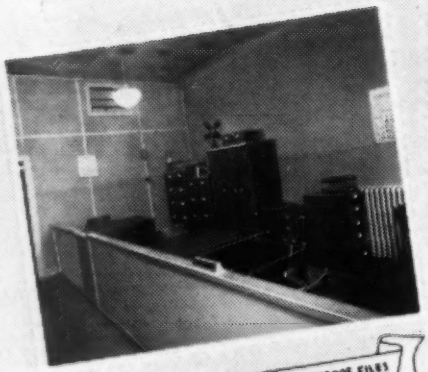

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*Volume 45, No. 6* *Whole No. 330*


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Miss Elsie Austin, assistant attorney general of the State of Ohio

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## NEXT MONTH

**The July issue will be the special Diamond Jubilee of Negro Freedom Number. There will be special articles by Wendell P. Dabney, Kelly Miller, James A. Jackson, Charles H. Wesley, Albon Holsey, Alain Locke, Lucien White, and Charles H. Thompson and G. James Fleming.**

**The August issue will be the annual Education number and will contain pictures and news of college graduates. Material for this issue must be in the office of THE CRISIS not later than July 2. Please do not send tinted photographs or tiny snapshots. We regret, also, that we are unable to carry group photographs. Individual pictures of college graduates are welcome.**

**Among the articles scheduled for other summer and early fall issues is the piece by Walter Wilson entitled, "Old Jim Crow in Uniform," dealing with the treatment of the Negro in the American army.**

**Another article for an early issue will be "Traveling with Mr. Jim Crow," an account of present day railroad travel in the South by J. L. LeFlore, of Mobile, Ala.**

**In the August CRISIS will appear pictures and a review of the twenty-ninth annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. to be held in Columbus, O.**

## OUR CONTRIBUTORS

**Jesse Crawford was the leading figure in an extradition case in Michigan several years ago. He lives in Michigan.**

•

**Augusta V. Jackson lives in Brooklyn, N. Y. She was an observer at the southern Negro youth conference in Chattanooga, Tenn.**

•

**George Padmore is well-known to readers of THE CRISIS for his articles on Africa and the relation of colored peoples to the problem of world peace.**

•

**Thelma Thurston is a member of the staff of *The Call* in Kansas City, Mo.**

•

**V. V. Oak is head of the school of Commerce at North Carolina college at Durham.**

•

**Of the book reviewers, Ted Poston is a space writer for the New York *Post* and George S. Schuyler is the well-known columnist and business manager of THE CRISIS.**

## THE COVER

**Miss Elsie Austin is one of the assistant attorneys general of Ohio having been appointed by Attorney General Herbert S. Duffy. Miss Austin is chairman of the legal committee of the Columbus, O., branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and is chairman of the committee which is arranging for radio broadcasts during the conference of the association there June 28—July 3, inclusive. She is a graduate of the University of Cincinnati and the University of Colorado and is a native of Cincinnati.**

# Cheating the Georgia Chain Gang

## By Jesse Crawford

***The story from Georgia is that the chain gang is being abolished by Governor Rivers. Here is a story from a man who was saved from being returned to the chain gang by the N.A.A.C.P. and other organizations. If his tale is only half true, the chain gang should have been abolished years ago***

IF you have never served time in a Georgia chain gang, if you have never worn a seven-foot trace-chain around your neck, double shackles around your legs, broken rock with a forty-pound hammer from sun-up until sun-down, hung by your wrists in a stock and stood in a sweat-box until you were unconscious, you do not know the meaning of the word suffering.

But this is getting ahead of my story.

I was born in Atlanta, Georgia, 24 years ago. My parents were hard-working, God-fearing people and they tried to rear my three sisters and I to believe in their faith. It was their earnest desire for us to grow up and serve our people well.

I realized this at a very tender age and tried to prove worthy of the confidence my parents had in me. I obtained employment as a motor-cycle messenger in one of Jacoby's drug stores. At the same time, I carried registered mail for the Atlanta postoffice.

This work was hard and often painful, for the mail and medicine had to be delivered in the sleet, rain and snow, and there were no "off-days." But I stuck to it in hope of having the pleasure of hearing my parents say they were proud of me.

When the Georgia police accused me of stealing a model T Ford in 1931 my father, who had been a writer, mail carrier and school teacher was dead and my mother had become an invalid.

Even though the chief of police, Gunnie Brade, of Fayetteville, Ga., testified that he did not arrest me for stealing the T model Ford (which would not run), but for being in possession of it, they sentenced me to serve twelve months in the Georgia chain gang.

### Near Cemetery

A few days after they sentenced me I was transferred from the Fulton County Tower, better known as "The Big Rock Jail," to Warden Charley Frank Collyer's chain gang camp. This camp was on Cleveland avenue, Atlanta, just across from the Rose Land cemetery. The inmates told me that the guards put it there so they would not have to carry the dead cons far to cover them up.

Before entering the chain gang I had heard a lot of horrible stories about it, but I never believed it was so bad. But now, since having served time in that prison, I can truly say the public have never seen a book or picture which actually described the terrible conditions of that infamous prison as it was when I was there.

Bad! I should say it was! We were aroused long before sun-up every morning, and rushed through the act of eating bad food, which usually consisted of fried sow-belly, hard corn punks and a rusty old pan full of black strap molasses that burned our throats badly. Then we were forced to walk to work, three miles away, with double shackles on our legs. The shackles cut our legs painfully and sometimes caused blood poison to set in.

Our work consisted of rock breaking with a forty pound hammer from sun-up until sun-down. And there was never a moment to rest or stall. The grim-faced guards saw to that. They kept their eyes on our every move, and to let us know that they were doing this, they would shout foul curses during the entire day. And ever so often they would stroll, swaggering up and down the line and wallop us across the back with a hickory stick they carried.

Whenever we wanted to get a drink of water we had to say, "getting a drink O'Boss." And whenever we wanted to attend to nature we had to say, "getting out over here, one time O'Boss," or, "Captain." If the guard yelled back, "all right, O'so and so, get out," we stepped out, but if he did not answer we knew that he meant for us to keep working.

At noontime we were given a pan of wormy, stock peas, a hunk of fat sow-belly and some hard corn bread. If we attempted to pick the worms out of the pea soup the guard would curse and flog us with his stick.

At sun-down we would start for the camp, soaking wet with perspiration, and so tired that we could hardly move one foot before the other one. Our supper, which usually consisted of corn meal grits, sorghum molasses and chicory coffee was always ready when we reached the camp.

After supper we were fastened to a

*A 40-pound hammer*

filthy old bunk with a building chain. The building chain was a large log chain that ran from one end of the dormitory to the other.

**Chain Gang Riot**

Enraged with brooding hatred, rigid discipline, the constant menace of guns and merciless punishment, the convicts one day suddenly rebelled and turned the prison into an unholy place. They shouted at the top of their voices and hurled coarse and venomous epithets at the despised guards. Now and then one of the worst treated inmates would burst forth with bitter fury, ripping his bed clothing to threads; destroying everything that he could move, rip, burst or tear.

It was no longer a crowd of sane human beings. It was more like a mad house full of excited savages sending up an unholy cacophony to the sun-lighted sky. The rebels were raving and jumping frantically about like lost souls in a forever burning torment.

The riot started one morning when the guards ordered the inmates to work. Instead of marching out of the dormitory, the convicts sat on their bunks and gave vent to hatred loudly and long.

The county police force came to aid the guards in quelling that riot. When the large crowd of officers surrounded the camp with automatic shot guns, pistols and tear-gas bombs the warden and chaplain came to the window of the dormitory and pleaded with the men to be sensible.

The inmates could not or would not understand the plea advanced by the warden and chaplain. They continued to yell, "we want something to eat; we want a decent place to sleep and eight hours a day work, instead of 12 and 15," until the warden yelled, "I have given you hogs something to eat now, I am going to give you something else." At that, tear-gas-bombs came through the window.

Almost instantly the dormitory was filled with stifling gas. We were choking and staggering about like drunken men. The inmates fought back like cornered wild cats, but they did not have a chance to win. They were outnumbered many times and unarmed as well.

When most of the rioters had been beaten to a mushy pulp, they threw us in dump-trucks and carried us to the quarry. There, we were forced to work in the scorching sun which was so hot that it blistered our bodies raw.

When some of the boys refused to work because they were utterly disabled after the merciless beating, the guards sent for the warden and started to flogging the helpless creatures all over again.

They say the chain gang is changed now. "It is okay," the newspapers say. It is a modern prison with radio, clean dormitories, and shower baths, instead of the old barrel tub in which fifteen or twenty men used to bathe without changing water. The reports may be true, but I doubt it. Men who have left the prison recently tell me it is just like it was when I left there.

Knowing that I could not serve my sentence under such miserable conditions, I decided to escape. I knew when I thought of doing this that I would be taking a chance on being blasted to eternity by the guards, but I preferred that to the slow and torturous death that I was dying in that dreadful place.

For a while I discussed my idea of escape with a group of long-termers who were supposed to be okay and very tough. But I soon learned that this would not do, for somebody was telling the guards everything that I said about escaping.

After several weeks of constant plotting I chose five old-timers who I knew would make good pals and started cutting a hole through the dormitory floor under my bed, with crude tools we had stolen from the prison work shop. This work was slow and tedious, back-breaking, but each day it went on. Such is the perseverance of freedom-starved convicts.

**The Escape**

Finally, the great day came. The hole had been completed and our time had come to go. It was at breakfast time one foggy morning when the six of us involved in the project crawled through the hole under my bunk, down into the basement of the dormitory and out a rear door. We continued to crawl and roll on the ground until we passed the bright searchlights surrounding the camp. We had only been gone from the prison a few minutes when the guards, trusties and bloodhounds came after us.

For almost an hour we plodded through the marshy swamp just ahead of the angry posse and flop-eared dogs. The guards were shooting so close to us that two of my pals wanted to surrender. I encouraged them to keep going until a piece of hot lead from the posse's gun passed through one of their shirts, slightly touching the skin. They just had to surrender then, they said, and stopped to wait for the pursuing posse. A few minutes later a high-powered rifle bullet passed between my arm and side, taking a small piece of my side with it.

It was about this time when my best pal, Lonnie Davis, who had been running beside me ever since we left the camp, stumbled and fell in a quivering heap upon the marshy ground with a back full of rifle lead. The officer who shot Lonnie told me when he came to the Michigan state capitol at Lansing to extradite me that the bullets paralyzed one side of Lonnie's body. I stopped to help Lonnie, but there was nothing I could do for him so I put on more speed in the snake-infested thicket.

It was indeed a matter of life and death now; two of my pals had surrendered; one had been shot, and the other two had left me.

I was just ahead of the aroused posse and the baying hounds were in sight and the bullets were flying so close that I could actually hear them singing as they passed me.

But somehow my luck held out. As I came out of the thicket, I saw a bicycle parked on the highway. I hopped on it and pedaled fast. I soon left the posse far behind and went to a friend's house. There I changed my prison uniform for a suit of civilian clothes and started out again.

I realized that I was a fugitive from justice, and a fugitive I intended to remain until my dying day.

I had gone into that living hell a young man, but now, two months later, when I re-entered the outside world, I felt and looked like an old man.

It was hard to force myself to believe that I had served only two months in that terrible place. Those two months seemed longer than all the rest of my entire life.

After having escaped I decided to go to some faraway place where I was unknown; anywhere, to hide, to forget that horrible place, and pretend that I was not a fugitive from justice. I was determined to carry out my idea and when the search for me had subdued considerably I came out of hiding and hoboed to Detroit, eight hundred miles away. In this strange city I took up life anew under the name of Joe Fisher, and Joe Fisher I remained until the dreaded day came.

**Recaptured in Detroit**

Early one foggy morning, just as it had been on the morning I escaped, eight months before, I was arrested in Detroit and detained as a fugitive from the chain gang. It was time now, indeed to mobilize, and believe me when I say that I did that with all the strength at my command. I sent out a startling true story in the newspapers about my experience in that disgraceful place.

At first, the northern public was shy of my story. It did not believe that such a horrible place existed on the face of

(*Continued on page* 178)

# Southern Youth Marches Forward

## By Augusta V. Jackson

***The second all-southern Negro Youth Congress in Chattanooga, Tenn., in April won the support of white and colored southerners and indications are that the earnest delegates will do much to push the advancement of their people in Dixie***

CHATTANOOGA, Tennessee, in the heart of the mountainous country at the base of the Shenandoah Valley, has always been an important center of Southern life. Yesterday, its mountain heights were the scene of some of the most intense struggles of the Civil War at Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and Lookout Mountain. Today, it dominates the region of the vast TVA project, and promises to become one of the nation's great industrial and commercial cities. In this area, rich with historic associations, where traces of the old South are fading away since the triumph of present-day industry, some four hundred delegates assembled on April 1, 2 and 3 for the Second All-Southern Negro Youth Conference. They deliberated in the shadow of the lofty heights of Lookout Mountain where the struggle for freedom was carried on over seventy years ago—the new Negro youth of the South, carrying into the twentieth century the battle for freedom, equality, and opportunity.

These fighters for the new freedom know that their enemies are century-old institutions, prejudices, and inequalities which they must face with present-day weapons. They have determined that they must grapple now with those forces if they wish to spend their adult lives in some measure of happiness and security. Many of them are farmers from the lean regions of Arkansas, Georgia, South Carolina, and Alabama where sharecroppers can never be certain of even the bare subsistence the land affords, where heavy debts and fear of sheriffs and chain-gangs, or the prospect of certain starvation tie them in their bondage. Many are students, less concerned with the rah-rah than with the serious business of preparing a world in which to live. Some of them are lawyers and ministers, handicapped in their professions by the social and economic limitations of their people. Others are the youth who are building America in the fundamental sense of the word—miners, factory and mill workers, most of them enthusiastic trade unionists, eager to see organized labor support the movement of southern Negro youth toward its freedom. They represent various strata of our race, but all alike realize that Negro youth in the South can have no divided interests; for race discrimination, disfranchisement, denial of opportunity for jobs and education begin at the color line without reference to class, training, or interest.

The delegates represented 383,000 southern youth. They came from every southern state. Among them were fifty white delegates. They personified the growing understanding between the whole of Southern youth. They spoke of the oneness of the nation's youth problems. And to them Negro youth extended a firm hand of fellowship.

### Endorsed by Leading Whites

The inter-racial aspects of the conference were made evident by the endorsement and support of leading southern white citizens. The Chattanooga *Times*, in a long editorial endorsement, stated that the conference should become a major factor in reducing crime and juvenile delinquency among southern youth. The *Times* suggested that the conference initiate recreational health projects, with government and private assistance, for Negro youth. The interest manifested in the conference by the Chattanooga *Times* was echoed by the executive secretary of the Central Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. of Chattanooga. The Chamber of Commerce secured the city auditorium for the final youth rally where 5,000 enthusiastic people participated in one of the largest mass meetings ever held by Negro youth.

They were no different from other young people. There was every evidence that they shared the enthusiasm of all other youth for gaiety, for sports, for social events; at another time the same group would have cheered lustily at a football game, and have danced until the last tune of a swing orchestra was played. Here they came on serious business; each had experienced his share of the world's injustice; each could have told some incident of discrimination, oppression, or terror which he had witnessed but which was so common as to merit no notice in the press of the nation.

A bright-eyed girl, who in appearance and manner does not differ from any girl seen walking down a city street, tells you that she teaches in a rural community where she conducts a school during the "season," that is during the six months of the year when neither the planting season, or cotton picking, or berry picking has emptied the school of its students. As she describes it, you can see her rough one-room schoolhouse, without enough textbooks, or enough teaching material, where most of her pupils come to school without shoes, where some who came last season must stay out this term so that another two or three from their large family can attend while the first is at work on the farm. Since her salary depends upon the attendance quota, she must walk many miles a week in all weather to recruit absentees. She is teacher, social worker, and the community model in morals, dress and speech. She earns twenty-five dollars a month—during the season. Another teacher from a school just in the suburbs of a large southern city tells a tale of different, but almost equal difficulties. She earns twice as much as her colleague in the rural community; her school has ten teachers, as many rooms and, in addition, offices for the staff and an auditorium. She has no trouble in getting her pupils to attend school; many are eager to come for they have no long miles to travel over the countryside. Her room is crowded to the door with sixty-five first grade children whom she must teach to read and write. She is responsible for obtaining teaching materials; she must either "raise" the money or give part of her fifty-dollar wage for this purpose.

### A Miner's Story

The young people at Chattanooga were willing to tell you about themselves. An alert young man of about twenty says that he is a miner from Alabama. He never had a chance to finish school, even though the school in his community went no higher than the ninth grade. He left home when he was about fifteen to find more opportunities than working on his father's impoverished bit of farmland could allow him. He worked first in the mines, digging coal all day until the work weakened his young body, and the frequent occurrence of accidents frightened him. Later, he relates, he returned to the farm only to find the land no longer his father's; a few more acres had been added to the more than four million acres of farmland that Negro acres have lost during the last fifteen years. He drifted about for a while wherever there was work. In season, he has picked cotton for the comparatively

"good" wage of *a dollar* a day. Now despite his father's protests he has gone back into the mines. A friend who is with him lives in the same industrial center. He can scarcely be over twenty; he supports a family of younger brothers and sisters by working in a cement factory. His father and two older brothers have died within the last three years of tuberculosis. Outside of the mine no work can be obtained except at the factory, and in the process of work a poison settles in the lungs. The death rate is high, and the men who work at the plant fear that before they are forty death or disability will have ended their days of earning a living.

A young social worker, burning with indignation and shame, describes how almost daily, in the city, she passes numbers of her sisters working on the roadway with pick and shovel, watched over by a foreman like a gang of laborers. These Negro women are the recipients of government aid, WPA workers who face the necessity of taking unsuitable and degrading labor or of being left to starvation; for the recipients of relief cannot refuse work when it is offered them.

More than one spoke of a disgraceful traffic in Negro labor carried on in southern cities under the very eye of the law. They had seen young men who were sent from employment agencies in their own cities on promises of "good" jobs in Florida, taken into the turpentine camps of that state where low pay and the most wretched living conditions prevail. Armed guards prevent workers from leaving the camp and escaping across the state line back to their homes. In Florida such traffic in labor is not illegal; it is protected by statutory law. They tell, too, that interstate traffic in domestic labor between South and North is not unknown, and Negro girls also have been made the victims of false promises, and carried away from their homes to work for a wage too low to be anything but a mockery.

Thus, they came to Chattanooga from schoolroom and mine, from office and farm, from the churches and social clubs—each with a need, each from a community where others at home were faced with the same problems. Already in their local councils and clubs they had held many discussions, trying to contrive some way to meet their pressing needs. Now in this second conference they say that people of their own age from areas as far apart as Maryland and Louisiana, or Oklahoma and Florida were also looking forward to find way of bringing into the South the force of a new movement. They were not content with seeing extended into the future the chaotic uncertainty that the Negro faces today. Together they would determine what they could do in cooperation with each other, with their elders in their communities to help themselves.

They wanted jobs and economic security. The graduates of colleges and technical schools wanted opportunities to work as their training permitted. They endorsed the program of the Administration for the extension of PWA projects, for the extension of NYA appropriations, the continuance and extension of relief measures to help the unemployed. The rural youth wanted to safeguard for the Negro farmer the ownership of his land, and to find in what way those forced to exist by sharecropping could raise their standard of living and could escape economic bondage. The conference advocated the passage of special farmers' legislation—the Jones Tenancy Act and the Boileau Amendment which offer the sharecropper an opportunity to purchase his land and pay off his debts.

### Will Seek the Ballot

The conference determined to mobilize its forces to secure citizenship rights for the Negro. Young people are aware that only when the disfranchised of the South have acquired the right to vote can there be a realization of democracy there. Thus, they ask for the repeal of poll tax laws, the abolition of accumulative poll tax, the right of Negroes to serve on juries. They have voted to return to their localities to establish institutes for citizenship where the people of each community may study the local electional laws, and regulations for jury service, and the basic constitutional guaranties so that all may be equipped to insist upon their rights as citizens. They have planned to organize clubs for the payment of poll taxes throughout the year, and to establish registration centers, and to initiate drives to secure the maximum Negro vote in each community. Southern young people are aware, too, that over all of the South the terror of lynching hangs; they know that the people move to alter their condition, when they attempt to unite with the forces of organized labor to strengthen their economic condition, or to secure an extension of the franchise, attempts will be made to keep them in abeyance with threats of lynching. So these young people add their voices and strength to the NAACP and those forces that work for the passage of the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynch bill. They know that thus not only can some dozens or hundreds of potential victims be saved, but that also the millions of Negroes in the South will be able to exercise their rights more freely without being intimidated.

*A youth demonstration*

Most of the delegates were products of the unequal educational system of the South. Any one of them could have told of the difference between the educational opportunities offered to white and to Negro children in every city and in every county of the South. Most of them had attended schools whose curricula were ill-suited to the needs of the young Negro boy and girl, many of whom must leave the grades and the high schools to seek some means to supplement the family income.

Some who have survived these schools and who have been fortunate enough to attend a college or a university return to teach, finding the ideals of education instilled into them in their academic training entirely inapplicable in poverty-stricken, understaffed schools and in overcrowded schoolrooms. These young people, students and teachers, do not need to be told that education is a weapon for obtaining democratic rights, or that securing the proper training is a first step in penetrating into the higher ranks of labor hitherto closed to them. So they have pledged themselves to work within their districts and communities for the equalization of funds appropriated for Negro and white education, and for Federal provision for education that could be impartially and extensively administered throughout the South. They ask for the cooperation of the school boards in making apprentice training for industry and trades a part of the curricula. They unanimously applaud the Urban League's initiation of National Vocational Guidance Week. They ask for vocational guidance not only in the public high schools, but also in the colleges where private foundations have made little attempt thus far to direct youth in mapping the future.

It was unusual and gratifying to find

(*Continued on page* 188)

# White Labor Policy in South Africa

## By George Padmore

***Black labor in South Africa is really enslaved and white labor has joined with the state and the capitalists in holding the blacks down with rigid laws which take away not only their civil liberties, but their right to work in any except certain occupations***

LENIN spoke of the "bourgeoisification" of the upper strata of the white workers as a heavy weapon in the hands of imperialists against the Social Revolution. He pointed out that the process of identifying the interests of this labor aristocracy with those of the ruling class is an element arising out of the development of capitalism during its imperialistic stage. And nowhere is this phenomenon more apparent than in South Africa, where white labor has completely divorced its interests from those of the natives, to the detriment of the latter, upon whose exploitation it fattens.

For "the European worker is haunted by fear of competition with the great masses of native laborers," is the declaration of a South African trade union memorandum. . . . "Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and so the policy hitherto adopted has been one of 'keeping the native in his place,' in order that certain of the higher-paid jobs might be retained as the special preserve of the European worker." This policy, which has the endorsement of the Labor Party of the Union, is implemented by legislation, and has accentuated the division between white and black labor.

"The industrial policy of the labor movement is the 'civilized' labor policy, which means in practice the substitution of European workers for native and colored workers wherever and whenever possible," resolved the South African Trades Union Congress in 1925.

Thus, at the instigation of white labor, the Government passed the Color Bar Act in 1926. This law legalizes racial discrimination in industry by making it a criminal offense for natives to be employed in skilled occupations. It works out, therefore, that every white occupies a supervisory position over the blacks. Moreover, the whites are guaranteed a *minimum* wage towering above that of the blacks. In the gold mines, for example, the white worker gets £1 (about $5) a day minimum, as against the average of £2.10 (about $12.50) paid to the black worker for a month of thirty working days!

### Parasitic Class

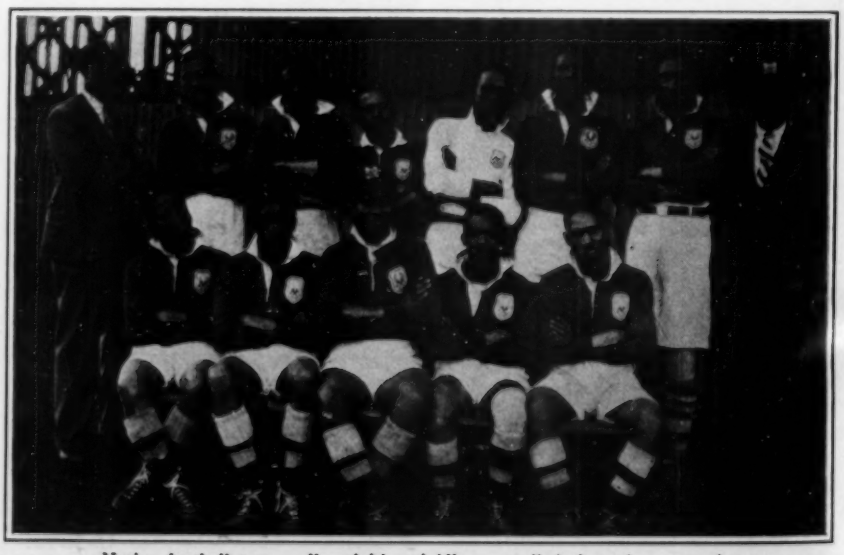
The European workers in South Africa constitute the most parasitic section of the international working class. Thanks to the Color Bar, they live in a style granted only to the higher placed workers and professionals in Britain and America. Obviously they are interested in aligning themselves with the capitalists in exploiting the blacks, and the division arbitrarily created is aggravated by the fact that the white workers form part of an alien racial minority which is determined to maintain its domination over the native majority. This chauvinist attitude was formulated by Sir Thomas Watts in a letter to *The Times* some years ago: "The white man, English as well as Dutch, is determined to do all he can to remain, and what is more, to rule. He hopes to get the sympathy and support of the Mother Country. If this is withheld he will not be deterred. To those who say England cannot be a party to a great act of injustice, I would reply that this matter is to us in South Africa such a vital and fundamental matter that no ethical consideration, such as the rights of man, will be allowed to stand in the way."

To maintain this domination over the natives, no black worker is permitted to enter a white trade union. The European trade union movement in South Africa is represented by the Trades' and Labor Council, composed of the Trade Union Congress and Cape Federation of Labor Unions and their affiliated craft unions and associations. They number about a hundred, and cover the engineering, metal, mining, building, printing, clothing and food industries.

Not only does the movement refuse entry to the blacks, but it declines unity with native organizations. The Industrial and Commercial Union, founded in 1919 by a young Nyasaland native, Clemens Kadalie, was the first effort at organizing a black labor union. Although conceived as a purely trade union organization, the very character of South African conditions forced the I. C. U. to assume leadership of the political as well as the purely economic struggles of the Negroes. Despite official persecution and hostility from organized white labor, it gained enormous strength economically and became a formidable political power in the hands of the blacks.

In 1928 the I. C. U. addressed an appeal to the Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee—the organization combining the Trade Union Congress and the Cape Federation of Labor Unions—to be included with the white workers in a unified labor movement. In reply the committee issued a memorandum

(*Continued on page* 178)



*Native football team—all activities rigidly controlled through segregation*

# THE CALL: Leader in the Southwest

## By Thelma Thurston

***In this, the fourth in a series of articles on the Negro press, the story is told of Editor C. A. Franklin's paper in Kansas City, Mo. Other principal papers of the country will be reviewed in succeeding issues***

IN Kansas City, out where the West begins, is published one of the papers which is always included among the foremost of the Negro press, The Call, edited by C. A. Franklin.

The Call, now entering its twentieth year, was the first paper of the race to join the Audit Bureau of Circulations, the organization which guarantees the quality and the quantity of a newspaper's patronage. It has maintained a home circulation of slightly better than one copy to each five Negroes in Greater Kansas City, 12,000 papers to less than 60,000 people. This complete coverage is proof positive that it is an acceptable news service to all elements of the people.

Reasons for the paper's growth and popularity are its reliability and optimism, two characteristics which stand out on it in every relation. Readers say: "If you see it in The Call, it is so." In the handling of inter-racial difficulties, always a troublesome problem, the Negro public of the Southwest withholds its opinions to see what The Call says, being confident that it will neither cover up its own people's shortcomings, nor hysterically condemn all whites for the unfairness of some.

It is Call policy to emphasize the achievements of Negroes. It plays up the constructive side of the news and minimizes its destructive and sensational features. No gossip at any time. It takes pride in publishing many times as many more stories of goodness than of crime. A distinguished anti-slavery leader told Lincoln at one of the dark moments of the Civil War that God still lives. That thought is The Call's philosophy.

As a result of its high coverage and ethical practices, The Call has been approved by the Merchants Association of Kansas City as an advertising medium for its members. It is for that lifting, consoling, assurance that things are getting better no matter how many difficulties have to be overcome, that The Call holds its readers. For hundreds of miles around Kansas City the reading public buys "The Call Paper." Men now leaders of their communities started their business experience as Call newsboys, and their children are walking in their footsteps.

### Active on Problems

It goes without saying that believing there is a solution for the group's problems, The Call has been active in correcting the conditions that limited Negroes' opportunities. In Kansas City where housing is a never-ending problem, it has been foremost in getting the financial powers to take a common sense view of the situation.

When The Call was founded twenty years ago, Negroes did not serve on juries in Kansas City. A three year newspaper campaign corrected that violation of law.

Missouri Independent Union Wins Labor Victory

NATIONAL EDITION

THE CALL

Kansas City's Leading Weekly

20 PAGES

S. D. Scruggs Jr. Elected President of Lincoln U.

GARY, IND., MOTHER IS STILL SEARCHING FOR KIDNAPED BABY

CURATORS SELECT KANSAS EDUCATOR TO HEAD SCHOOL

NEGRO INDEPENDENT UNION GETS INJUNCTION AGAINST NATIONAL MEDIATION BOARD

FORT SCOTT WOMAN DIES FROM BURNS

MRS. WILLA DRIGGINS SUCCUMBS

JAIL FOR DOCTORS IN ACCIDENT RING

The paper has always been in the fight for Negro labor. The effort to improve wages and working conditions for Pullman porters early enlisted its support.

Its many battles for better schools in its city and state have been followed by a great improvement, from elementary schools up through the state university.

The Call has a complete newspaper plant, being able to finish every detail of newspaper publishing under its own roof. It has five typesetting machines. Its high speed press is of thirty-two (32) page and four (4) color capacity. It occupies most of the three floors of the building at 1713-15-17 East 18th Street, a very noteworthy growth from the single store room, 17 x 50, in which it started. Those were days in which the editor and his mother, Mrs. Clara B. Franklin, repeated their early experiences at newspaper publishing with inadequate financial backing, the same as they had in the days when his father, George F. Franklin, was running a paper in Denver. Mr. Franklin sometimes tells the story of those early days when in the operation of a job printing business in connection with that early paper, he bought paper for handbills to the amount of fifteen cents. Today The Call buys paper by the carload direct from the mill. It does no job printing.

### Story of Hard Work

The story of the development of The Call is an inspiring one of vision, sacrifice and hard work—no different in essential outline from the stories of other

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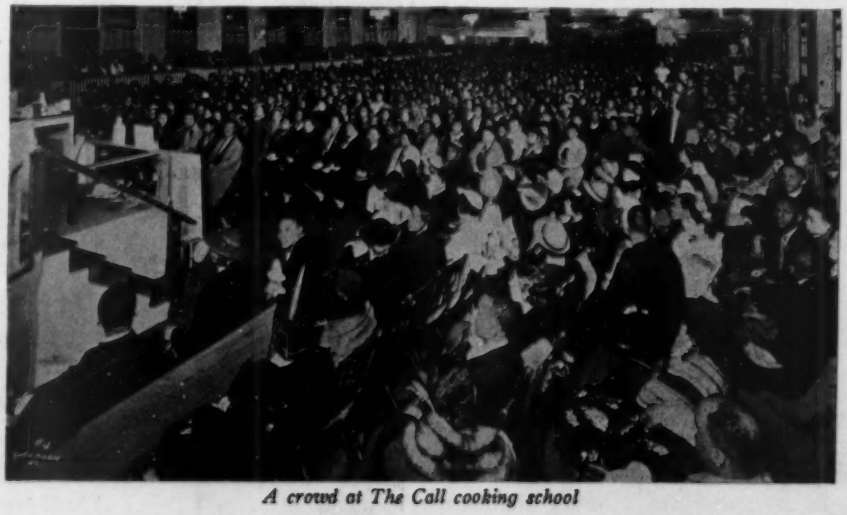


*A crowd at The Call cooking school*

soundly-built Negro businesses, including other newspapers, but interesting in detail.

The Franklin family left Denison, Tex., where C. A. Franklin was born, because his mother—a woman with a plan and persistence—wanted her son to be an editor and counsellor to his people and she believed he could prepare himself best for that career in the North. They moved to Omaha, Nebraska. The youngster played his games around racks of type and smeared his face not with jam, but with printer's ink. As a lad he worked a foot press, distributed type, learning his "case" long before he was out of short pants. Many a week, relates Mother Franklin, Chester helped her set type, lock up the little forms, "kick" off the paper on a foot press, address each subscriber by hand, and then carry the entire edition to the postoffice for mailing—and the mailing list was not so large that either strained even an arm muscle with the bundle!

From Omaha the Franklins trekked to Denver where a successful job printing shop was set up and a paper started. Not satisfied completely in the Colorado metropolis, Franklin surveyed the Missouri Valley where his family had always lived and decided that of all the cities, Kansas City, sitting solidly at the junction of the Kaw and Missouri rivers, was the most likely spot for the sinking of deep roots. Kansas City was to become the boss town of Western Missouri and the metropolis of the state of Kansas, although the width of a river separates it from the soil of John Brown's bleeding prairies.

So the family came to Kansas City, rolled up its sleeves (for Mother Franklin worked hours as long as those of her son or any of his workmen) and went to work. First a job printing shop in order to make some money at the known trade while getting acquainted with the field, building credit, amassing slender capital. Then, in 1919, with a reputation as the most reliable job printer in town, with a volume that kept three presses and five men busy, The Call was launched in the face of stiff competition from a long-established weekly.

In 1921, Franklin imported a man to solicit advertising, but the circulation was not sufficient to furnish a talking point and the young "ad" man buckled down to circulation building, with Mother Franklin at his elbow, trudging block after block, ringing doorbells, signing up subscribers. In a little over a year the circulation was doubled and the solicitor began trying to sell space. He told the boss the paper needed "looks"—a man to take charge of news, make-up, pictures, etc. Just as he had imported a young advertising man, Franklin now imported a young journalism graduate from the University of Minnesota.

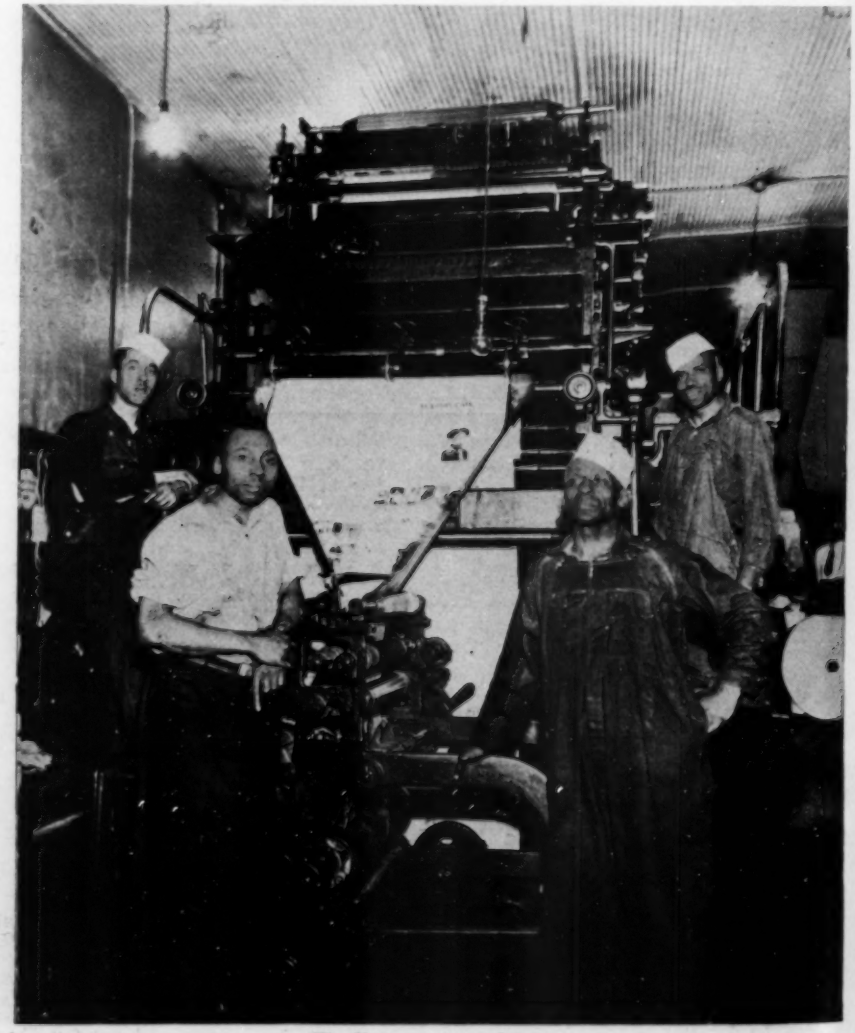
**The First Press**

At this time the paper was being made up in its own plant and printed elsewhere. It had jumped to twelve pages and the circulation increased so rapidly that Franklin made his first big plunge—a flat-bed press with a capacity of about 3,000 papers an hour. More linotype machines were bought, additional young colored skilled workers were employed. In those days the boss tied on an apron, made up ads, and helped lock up the paper. When it was on the press, he curled up on a long mailing table for a nap until enough papers had been run to start mailing. Whereupon he ran a mailing machine, wrapped bundles, stuffed mail bags and helped haul the sacks to catch the mail trains. All hands pitched in. It was the period when the men who wrote the stories and headlines and editorials, who solicited advertising, soothed subscribers, enlisted newsboys, or who sat in Sunday conferences on policy and the all-important subject of finances, all worked side by side with the men who toiled in the shop and the press room.

By 1927, the paper had outgrown the flat-bed press. There had to be greater flexibility, better printing, more speed. Advertisers demanded better service. Subscribers wanted a better paper. The local weekly competition had long ago been knocked out. The imported weeklies had had their local circulation cut by eighty per cent by the fresh late local news in The Call. The competition now was with the downtown dailies for the Negro market.

So, in the spring of 1928 the present 32-page high speed rotary press, and accompanying equipment was installed,

(*Continued on page* 187)



*The 32-page press and crew*

# Business Education in Negro Colleges

## By V. V. Oak

IN a previous article published in the September (1937) issue of THE CRISIS, the writer pointed out how most of the present business curricula in Negro colleges have been aimlessly constructed. In a misguided effort to be different from white colleges, and thus, supposedly, better meet the needs of the Negro student, many Negro colleges have made a complete failure of the cultural development of their students enrolled in business by devoting a minimum of attention to it. Their four-year business curricula require *more courses in business* than white colleges do. In so doing, they seem to lose sight of the inferior background of the average Negro student which renders it more difficult for him (and, quite often, for his inexperienced teachers) to carry on successfully such over-specialized education.

At the present stage of the economic development of the Negro, there is no other place but the Negro college where adequate and practical background for business can be secured. "Regardless of the superiority of schools of certain white universities because of variety of courses offered, library facilities, and the experience and practical training of their teaching staff," observes Dr. Paul K. Edwards, "the Negro college should be able to serve the peculiar needs of the Negro youth better."[1] The writer strongly believes that there is a definite need for business education for Negroes and that this need can be adequately met only by well-equipped and well-staffed Negro colleges. The purpose of this article is to clarify the objectives which Negro colleges should keep before them in the much-needed reconstruction of their four-year business curricula.

***The Negro college should be training young people in simple business procedure, at the same time giving them a broad cultural background, says this writer***

### Four Objectives

To furnish a broad educational background should be the first objective of every business curriculum. If white colleges are gradually realizing the need for liberal education by requiring at least two years of such education for their business students, there is all the more reason why Negro colleges should place an even greater emphasis on this aspect of their curriculum. This emphasis is necessary for counterbalancing, as far as is humanly possible, the poor educational, social, and economic background of Negro students. We should, therefore, keep before us this factual situation which racial differences create in this country.

A liberal education, provided it is properly administered by competent instructors (and herein lies the key to all successful education), will prove helpful to the student in building up an integrated personality. Educators seem to be agreed that specialization in the early stage of a student's college career tends to make him narrow and one-track minded and that it is, therefore, undesirable. Furthermore, the greatest criticism of the existing Negro business is that it is conducted by people who do not have sufficiently broad training. If, therefore, the cultural aspect of education is ignored, the college may end in turning out business men who may succeed reasonably well in their profession, but who will, nevertheless, be ignorant. The Negro business man of tomorrow has a double role to perform. Besides conducting his business according to our present rapidly advancing standards of service, he will also have to furnish civic leadership.

The second major objective of the four-year general business curriculum should be to give the student a sound knowledge of fundamental business principles, practices, and procedures. Basic business education rather than training for specialized fields should be its goal. Some of our institutions, however, would be able to render more effective service to their students if they

(*Continued on next page*)

*A broad educational background is needed—The Atlanta U. library*

[1] Paul K. Edwards, "The Need for Education of Negro Business Men," *The Journal of Negro Education*, 4:74, January 1935.

would concentrate their attention only upon the training of secretaries or teachers of commercial subjects in high schools, as is done by Tennessee A. & I. State Teachers college and Langston university, leaving the more difficult program of the general business education to those Negro colleges which are capable of offering well-balanced curricula because of strong faculties and adequate financial support.

**Recognize Limitations**

The third major objective of the curriculum should be to prepare the student to organize, to manage, and to conduct efficiently and successfully such business enterprises as are open to him as a Negro. In order to do this, courses like advanced corporation finance, mathematics of finance, history of economic thought, advanced economic theory, cost accounting, monetary problems, income tax accounting, and other similar advanced courses now being offered by some of our institutions should be entirely eliminated to give place to more practical courses like real estate, merchandising, business organization, business finance (with special emphasis upon small-scale business enterprises), and secretarial training.

It is not suggested here that a business student should not be acquainted with the procedures of organizing corporations and the methods used in financing them, but it is beyond the scope of the present Negro college with its limited income and inadequate staff to offer pretentious programs in the "higher brackets" of finance. The successful attainment of the objective referred to in the earlier part of this paragraph depends mainly upon the efficiency of the teaching staff. Since there are not but half a dozen Negro teachers in the present total teaching staff of business departments in Negro colleges who have had practical knowledge of the financial organization of a bank, an insurance company, or a brokerage house, or who have visited these places for the purpose of study, the writer strongly opposes any attempt on the part of the Negro college to teach highly advanced courses in business.

It is preposterous to say that Negro institutions, at this stage of their development, can offer such courses as efficiently as some well-known and well-financed white institutions. Students anxious to secure highly technical knowledge of banking, accounting, insurance, or investment should, therefore, go to *recognized* graduate schools.

The fourth objective of the curriculum should be to prepare students for positions as managers, salesmen, and clerks in stores and offices owned by whites but dependent mainly upon Negro patronage for their success. There are growing openings for such positions, especially in northern cities like Chicago, Gary, Indianapolis, Cleveland, New York, and Washington which have large Negro populations. At the risk of digression from the main theme of this article, the following paragraphs are written to point out the definite possibilities in this direction as the writer feels that it is a point of view which should have some bearing upon the construction of a purposeful curriculum.

**Boycott Campaigns**

As one would expect in a social economy which forces the Negro to the role of a "parasite" dependent upon white employers for his livelihood, the depression struck the Negro very heavily. In 1931-32, several successful boycotts were launched in Chicago by Negro leaders and newspapermen against white business establishments which depended upon Negro trade for their main support but which did not employ Negro clerks, managers, or salesmen. The slogan of these leaders was "Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work," meaning that if Negroes were not being employed because of their race, then, out of self-respect, Negroes should boycott such establishments and buy their wares from those stores which did not bar Negroes from working in their establishments because of color.

As a result of this situation, several white business enterprises located in Negro districts, including such a prominent store as F. W. Woolworth and Company, and the Walgreen drug chain stores began using Negro salespeople. It was estimated that there were 4,100 colored clerks employed by white merchants in Chicago in 1932. This boycott movement spread rapidly to other cities in the North, where the Negro is more self-assertive than in the South, and created a few white collar jobs for Negroes. Unfortunately, in New York City, the movement culminated in a riot in Harlem. Unemployed for months and getting restless at their failure to secure jobs in stores which were located in their district but which did not employ Negroes, the tired crowd of Negroes decided to show their resentment by smashing windows and destroying property of businesses located in the district. Such rowdyism is, of course, unjustifiable. At the same time, one should not fail to realize that it is often symptomatic of some deep-rooted causes.

If the policy "Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work" is carried out to its logical conclusion, it not only strengthens the argument for a complete segregated economy (if such an economy is possible under our present complex industrial organization), but may lead to a counter movement by whites to shut out Negroes from work in those industries which do not depend upon Negro patronage. Such seems to be the contention of Dr. Abraham L. Harris of Howard university in his brilliant discussion of this subject in the chapter "The Plight of the Negro Middle Class" in his book "The Negro as Capitalist." He suggests in this discussion that the Negro leaders and business men behind this movement are motivated by the selfish desire to monopolize and to exploit the Negro market for themselves by replacing the white merchants. "The Negro masses who seem to follow them blindly do not see," continues Dr. Harris, "that they have no greater exploiter than the black capitalist who lives upon low-waged if not sweated labor, although he and his family may, and often do, live in conspicuous luxury."[2]

When one seriously looks around in vain for philanthropic donations of our Negro capitalists made for the purpose of uplifting our masses on whose support they are thriving, one is forced to admit the truthful implications of Dr. Harris' statement. One can say, however, with equal truthfulness, that the fathers of the American Revolution were also guided by identical motives of self-advancement; they desired to capture the market then controlled by the English with a view to exploiting it for their own benefit. Our present competitive system of economy is so organized that the success of one individual is often achieved by the downfall of the other. Similarly, success of one business often ends in the downfall of another. While, therefore, the writer agrees with Dr. Harris in his contention, he believes, nevertheless, that in the absence of a better program, we should welcome a further growth in the number of "black capitalists." Exploitation at best is bad, but the writer feels that the exploitation of a people by people within a group is less devastating than exploitation by people outside the group. For that reason, the slogan "DON'T SPEND YOUR MONEY WHERE YOU CAN'T WORK" should be constantly hammered into the consciousness of the buying public in spite of the possible, though not probable, danger of the whites shutting out Negroes from work on similar grounds. Until a more practical program is presented, Negroes

(*Continued on page* 190)

[2]Abram L. Harris, *The Negro as a Capitalist*, Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1936, p. 184.

# Editorials

### *Anti-Semitism Among Negroes*

A NUMBER of inquiries has come to the N.A.A.C.P. in recent years about anti-semitism among Negroes. Thoughtful Jewish leaders are concerned over occasional speeches and occurrences here and there.

We do not believe there is any real basis for their suspicions. Negroes do not hate Jews. Not only Negro leaders, but the Negro masses realize that race hatred is a vile and self-destroying thing. They have had this truth driven home to them through generations of treatment at the hands of a controlling section of the white majority in this country.

But that does not mean that Negroes have not been puzzled and disturbed at times over the actions of some Jewish individuals and groups. In general in the trade union movement and in the radical political organizations Negroes and Jews get along very well, with the Jews not only having sympathy for and understanding of the plight of the Negro, but actually doing something to ease the burden of prejudice.

Certain Jewish philanthropists have made substantial contributions to the financing of programs for Negro advancement and improvement, choosing, as is their right, the kind of movements they shall aid. But the Jewish middle class (upper and lower), the shopkeepers and merchants and the landlords, in many cases and in many localities, leave much to be desired. The story is still told in Harlem of the Jewish landlord who told his Negro tenants they ought to be glad to get an apartment with hardwood floors, tiled bathrooms and French doors—at any rental.

This middle class attitude is illustrated by a liberal Jewish rabbi who told the N.A.A.C.P. that members of his congregation informed him they did not want any sermons linking the plight of the Jew with the plight of the Negro. But this attitude ignores the fact that prejudice is virulent and uncontrollable; if it is condoned in one instance, it will fatten and intrench itself and shortly turn upon other victims.

Currently, the 165,000 Negro citizens of Baltimore, Md., are incensed over the flat refusal of department stores in that city to serve them—not ice cream sodas and luncheons, but clothing, furniture, and the thousands of other items sold by such establishments. It happens that the majority of these stores is either owned or managed by Jews. The question, of course, is economic, not racial, but the anger of a hurt people leaps to the racial aspect.

Another sore point is that of employment. Negroes are rigidly proscribed in many establishments owned or managed by Jews. In this the latter follow the pattern set by gentiles, but it does seem that Jewish employers might be peculiarly sympathetic to Negroes seeking to break out of the traditional jobs set aside for them. It is easy to forget, in this situation, that Jews themselves complain bitterly that in many businesses run by their own people, Jews either are refused employment or are hired on a quota basis.

The whole question is a complex one, not to be solved by set formulæ or by recrimination. American Jews come from many lands and have vastly different heritages. They do not react racially as a unit on any question, except, perhaps, on Hitler. Neither do Negroes, except, perhaps, on lynching. But the matter of the attitudes of Negroes and Jews toward each other deserves thoughtful attention both for the sake of each race's individual happiness and progress, and for the sake of the larger ideal of making our democracy work at a time when the forces of fascism are on the march all over the world.

### *Will Not Down*

THE federal anti-lynching bill and the manner in which it was filibustered from its preferred position on the Senate calendar continues to be a live issue and will not down, even though politicians would like to see it glossed over in the coming fall elections.

The anti-lynching bill bobbed up the other day in connection with the wages and hours bill and, incidentally, revealed once more that the filibuster would never have been successful had not the Republican senators given it their support. There was a suggestion in Washington that the southerners should filibuster against the wages and hours bill, but Senator Tom Connally who led the anti-lynching filibuster said there would be no filibuster "because the Republicans will not support us."

In addition to this testimony from the leader of the anti-lynching filibuster, we have an editorial from the Ada, Okla., *Evening News* thanking the Republican senators for helping the South kill the anti-lynching bill.

G. O. P. Chairman John Hamilton and Republican Minority Leader McNary have attempted to "explain" the Republican performance in the filibuster, but the evidence seems clear that if the Republican senators had not announced that they would oppose cloture as a bloc, the filibuster would not have succeeded and the anti-lynching bill would have been enacted.

### *Dallas*

THE tempest which was aroused in Dallas, Tex., April 29, because of a scheduled speech by Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary, to the Dallas Interracial Commission at the Central Y.W.C.A. illustrates again the conflict between the old and the new South.

A great section of Dallas citizenry is proud of its increasing liberalism not only on the race question, but on other topics. Two years ago Southern Methodist university in Dallas made a daring and honest survey of a Texas lynching. The Benny Goodman band which played for the Texas Centennial Exposition had no difficulty with its two Negro members. The Pan-American games held in Dallas last summer found the leading Negro college track athletes, including John Woodruff of the University of Pittsburgh and Ben Johnson of Columbia university, running for the first time in the South against white athletes. Just a few weeks ago, Marian Anderson, the great contralto, drew the highest praise from Dallas music lovers and critics in her appearance there.

But there are in Dallas (as there are in other southern and northern cities) persons who are bigoted and intolerant and dependent upon the poisonous preachments of race hatred for such prominence as they enjoy. These individuals, among whom was included a burly, ragged, alleged leader of the local Ku Klux Klan, succeeded in arousing enough loose talk to cause the Interracial Commission to shift the meeting from the Central Y.W.C.A. to the colored branch of the Y.M.C.A.

The editorial opinion of Dallas dailies following the appearance of Mr. White unreservedly condemned the action of the persons who had aroused racial feeling and expressed regret that Dallas had been branded by this minority as a community where intolerance flourishes. Our guess is that this incident will serve to encourage and embolden the substantial liberal opinion of Dallas so that the city will continue its advance toward progressivism and tolerance in race relations.

## Chain Gang

(*Continued from page 169*)

the earth, let alone in free America.

I proved my story and got help from the Commonwealth. Several different organizations appointed attorneys to defend me after they read that story. At that time I did not have the slightest idea that there were so many attorneys in Detroit until they began to visit me, stating that some organization or club had appointed them to defend me.

For a while the attorneys bewildered me. I did not know which one to chose. Finally, however, I chose Harold E. Bledsoe, N.A.A.C.P. attorney, and also William V. Banks and Maurice Sugar, I.L.D. attorneys. All three of these men are well known for the good work they have done and are still doing for colored people. Mr. Bledsoe was appointed here recently to the Michigan Board of Corrections. This is the second time Mr. Bledsoe has been appointed by a governor. He served as assistant attorney general under the Comstock Administration.

Shortly after the attorneys took my case, three officers from Georgia came to Detroit to extradite me. They tried to persuade me to waive extradition and return with them. But my attorneys told me not to waive anything, so I flatly refused to yield to the southern officers and they left my cell in a huff, threatening to get revenge.

My extradition hearing was set for Friday the 13th, which is reputed to be an unlucky day for some people.

On the way to Lansing, the capital, I did not have very much to say, but the officers were very talkative and tried several times to get me to tell them what I was going to say at the hearing. They also wanted to know who was putting up the money for my defense; who was writing all the stories about my experience in the chain gang. I was in no talking mood and did not tell the officers anything.

They reminded me of it being Friday the 13th, and said that that surely meant bad luck for me. My reply to that was, "I am not superstitious, and the 13th might mean bad luck for you instead of for me."

### Freedom

The assistant attorney general, George Murphy, brother of the Governor of Michigan, presided at my hearing and requested me to show the court the scars on my legs which the chain gang shackles had made. He also requested me to describe the condition of the infamous prison to the court. This was the chance I had been craving, and I explained to the best of my ability.

Finally, after an all-day hearing, the attorney general excused himself from the courtroom to talk with the governor. Shortly afterward, when he returned with a handful of legal papers, he asked me jokingly if I wanted to go back to the chain gang. When I assured him that I did not, he told me that I did not have to go: the governor had refused to extradite me.

When the southern officers heard that, they stalked out of the capital, eyeing me wickedly and chewing viciously on some mighty strong smelling Brown Mule.

After my release, I toured the state and told of my chain gang experience in churches, halls and theaters. Then my family came to me. I am North of the Mason-Dixon line and I am going to stay.

I realize I could not say this if the N.A.A.C.P. and the I.L.D. had not come to my rescue, so I cannot end this story without saying I do appreciate the help they so kindly extended me when I needed help most.

## South Africa

(*Continued from page 172*)

acknowledging "that sooner or later the national trade union movement must include all genuine labor and industrial organizations, irrespective of craft, color or creed. The question is how and when," and the document went on to suggest, "a considerable amount of propaganda was needed among the union membership before affiliation can take place with benefit to all concerned." It was generally feared that the membership of the black union would outvote the European organizations and force them to abandon their discriminatory practices.

### Alliance with Capitalists

This fear of losing their privileged status is the bogey which haunts the white workers and drives them into alliance with the capitalists against the natives. This unity of race as against class accounts for the widespread racial chauvinism which permeates all strata of the European population, and makes the Union the world's classic fascist state. For here a racial minority of 1,800,000 mercilessly suppresses 6½ million blacks in their own land, denying them the most elementary democratic and human rights.

The natives are hedged in on all sides by a system of pass laws which limit their liberty of movement and reduce them to serfdom. Rigid laws deny them freedom of speech, press and assembly, and forbid their appearance on the street after nine o'clock at night. Because they have no right of representation, their ills cannot be redressed through parliamentary channels.

Taxed out of all endurance, bearing the economic burdens of the Union and debarred from the fruits, there is only one way out for the native. He must rely upon himself and seek ways and means of organizing his forces and exploit every conflict within the camp of the ruling class to press forward to his goal of self-determination. In this drive for unity the natives must draw in the Indian and colored workers of South Africa, who are also victims of racial discrimination. This does not mean that they should not welcome whatever assistance and support individual politically advanced white workers or groups might extend to them from time to time, but it would be a delusion for the blacks to place any faith in the South African Labor Party or the trade union bureaucracy, which are becoming more and more identified with the state. Even the unemployed and poor whites who might be expected to draw closer to the black and colored workers, are being organized against the natives by the fascists, who are represented by a number of associations, among them the New Guards, the Grey Shirts, the National Socialist Democratic Movement, and Dr. Malan's party, which is at present carrying on a campaign for the exclusion of Jews from South Africa and the banishment of all natives from the towns.

The future of South Africa is tied up with the future of Europe and the British Empire, and because of this, the native workers must close their ranks and prepare themselves, so that when the opportunity arrives they will be able to strike a decisive blow against the brutal system of Afrikander Imperialism which has reduced them to a condition hardly better than chattel slavery.

## No Wage Cuts for Pullman Porters

According to announcement of A. Philip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the threatened wage reduction movement by the railroads of America, will not affect sleeping-car porters whose contracts have been negotiated by the Brotherhood. The wage agreements, controlled by the Brotherhood, are not subject to a thirty-day notice termination, but the term of duration runs into 1939.

**Come to Columbus, O., June 28–July 3 for the 29th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P.**

# From the Press of the Nation

## Editorial of the Month

### Ethiopia's Farewell

**New York, N. Y., *Times***

THE representatives of fifteen nations sat silent yesterday as a little black man, sick and defeated, bowed gently to them all and walked slowly out of the Council room at Geneva. They had listened in silence while the one-time Emperor of the last black empire told the white world what he thought of its morals and its ethics. He was pleading a lost cause, and he knew it. For overwhelming reasons of their own the statesmen present had already made their decision on his case. But also he knew that in his dignified despair he was cutting a better figure than his auditors. They knew it, too. In his defeat Haile Selassie tasted the revenge of giving the Council of the League a half hour of the most acute discomfort it has ever experienced. Ethiopia, dying, delivered the funeral oration at a death that was not hers alone.

The honors of the occasion go to Haile Selassie as the striking symbol of the end of an epoch starred by many hopes, many illusions—and many hypocrisies. The tragedy of the Negus is not lessened because he never completely dominated his dark and primitive empire, but it is heightened because he could have saved the best part of it if he had not counted on the support of the League and dealt directly with the aggressor. The other colonial Powers never carried complete conviction into their condemnation of Italy for doing, too late, what they had done before. The experiment in sanctions was never whole-hearted. The nations in the League, in short, never learned not to act as nations.

Now the artifices and unrealities of an epoch are swept away with its dreams, and on the bare, day-lighted stage are pathetic, well-meaning, frightening figures, but none that are wholly admirable, honest or romantic. Even that Great Bystander, the United States, today underlining the scene at Geneva by reiterating its policy of non-recognition of the fruits of aggression, has joined the majority in acquiescing in a conquest far more cruel than that of Ethiopia. Austria was not even granted Haile Selassie's privilege of bidding the world a contemptuous farewell.

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Free speech and free assembly is nothing more than an empty ritualism in many places in America. Just now much ado is being made of the denial of free speech in Jersey City to Norman Thomas and members of the lower House of Congress. People wonder how we have developed such despotism right here in America, when as a matter of fact this condition has affected certain classes throughout all the years. . . .

Just a few days ago the Ku Klux Klan in Dallas sought to deny Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the right of free speech. . . .

But nobody gets excited when free speech and free assembly is denied Negroes. No one gets dramatic and eloquent about the constitution on such occasions.

The truth is that here in America we develop our patterns of hypocrisy out of our complexes and attitudes toward Negroes.—Oklahoma City, Okla., *Black Dispatch*.

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Two fine-looking little girls of ten, homeward bound from school, boarded a crowded street car a few days ago. One was colored, the other white. In their childish way they chatted, now seriously, now gleefully, of the happenings of the day. The anxious hands of each in turn grabbed the other as the car lurched and lunged its way down the bumpy street. They were living in a world all their own. They were unmindful of all about them.

On the faces of the seated adults one read a different story. Some in open disgust looked away; some stared their disapproval; others gazed in utter amazement that such a thing could happen. None took what they saw as natural.

How long can it go on? How many days may they, in peace, enjoy this beautiful association? Only a few days, a few weeks, and then they will see what was on the faces of their elders.

Each will learn to shun and avoid the other. One, because she is taught aloofness, dignity, and superiority; the other, embarrassed at being the unsought seeker, will, resenting the slight, recoil in bitterness.

Thus American race prejudice is taught and made to grow. —Philadelphia, Pa., *Tribune*.

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Richmonders are to be commended for having brought about the appointment of a colored principal of the new high school nearing completion. With Lynchburg, it has been the only city in the state where colored people were not given principalships in the dual system of education. Advancement beyond the position of teachers was denied the hundreds who labored in the classroom.

In recent years the practice in Richmond of having white principals has been modified, and the naming of a Negro for the Walker High School signalizes the new trend significantly. . . .—Norfolk, Va., *Journal and Guide*.

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In Geneva, on Thursday, representatives of fifteen nations sat silently as ailing Haile Selassie bowed majestically to them and walked out of the League of Nations Council after hearing the council declare in favor of recognition of Ethiopia as Italian. . . .

The only vigorous opposition to recognition of Italian conquest, besides that offered by Selassie, came from New Zealand, whose delegate, W. J. Jordan, said, "This is a return to laws of the jungle."

And so history was written, a shameless chapter of it, in which once more the black man has been sacrificed by conniving whites who bask under false colors, who proclaim themselves setting the standards of civilization, but who do not know the meaning of it.—New York, N. Y., *Age*.

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To the bandits belong the spoils.

This, in effect, was the dictum of the much heralded League of Nations as it blandly turned over to fascist Marauder Benito Mussolini this week the last remaining free Negro country on the face of the globe, Ethiopia.—Boston, Mass., *Chronicle*.

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The masses of Negroes in New Orleans were generally thrilled more than uplifted at the news that the State of California had sent a Negro lieutenant of detectives to this state to return a law violator. On every hand were to be heard expressions of commendation for the western dominion, and denunciation for states like Louisiana, Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama who refuse to give men of color a similar chance in the field of law enforcement. . . .—New Orleans, *Louisiana Weekly*.

# Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

## Many Problems on Program at Columbus

MANY problems dealing with the welfare of colored people and with the organization machinery of the N.A.A.C.P. are scheduled to be discussed at the 29th annual conference of the association in Columbus, Ohio, June 28–July 3, inclusive.

Many brilliant speakers will address the conference and lead discussions. Among these will be Senator Robert F. Wagner, co-author of the federal anti-lynching bill; Walter White, national secretary; Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, president of the Palmer Memorial institute, Sedalia, N. C.; Dr. T. V. Smith of the department of philosophy, University of Chicago; Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Howard university; Dr. Charles Edward Russell, and Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University.

The opening session, Tuesday night, June 28, will be presided over by Jesse G. Dickinson, president of the Columbus branch.

On Wednesday, June 29, the conference sessions will be divided into discussion groups and the all-important topics of public health and housing will be reviewed. That afternoon, there will be round-tables on political action.

Wednesday night, Dr. Wesley and Dr. Smith will give addresses at the mass meeting, touching upon the Negro worker in the labor movement and the place of the Negro population in the new political alignments now being formed.

All day Thursday, June 30, will be given over to discussion of economic problems, employment, discrimination by public utilities and by the civil service. Other topics related to the economic welfare of Negroes will be on the program.

Thursday evening will be youth night. Dr. Charles Edward Russell will speak on the distortion of the Negro's part in American history. Dr. Brown will give an inspirational address to the young people.

Friday morning will be devoted to discussion of various topics having to do with the machinery of the N.A.A.C.P. Ways and means of making the branches more effective, of enlarging our membership, of coördinating the work of the youth councils; of carrying on an educational program, and of raising additional funds will be taken up. This discussion will run over into the afternoon.

### BRANCHES

1. **Conduct your spring campaign for new members**
2. **Elect as many delegates as possible to the Columbus conference**
3. **Get on the Honor Roll—send your apportionment to the national office before June 25**

One of the topics scheduled is the establishment of more than one organized unit in a community. This topic has been on the program for several years, but this year there is keen interest in it since this type of organization has had a two-year tryout in Detroit with the youth councils. Six units of youth councils have been established in Detroit. Gloster B. Current, president of the central youth council of that city, will explain how the system works there. A delegate from the Boston, Mass., branch will tell about the beginning of an attempt in that city to establish units in various sections of greater Boston.

Delegates from Houston, Tex., and Philadelphia, Pa., doubtless will discuss the attempts in those communities to employ a person for money raising exclusively. This Friday session promises to be one of the most interesting and helpful sessions that has been held in recent conferences. The widest latitude will be given in discussion in an attempt to organize the associatiown more efficiently to do its work.

Friday night the Spingarn medal will be formally presented; and Saturday morning, the all-important question of whether the association will continue to hold annual conferences or begin to hold conferences every two years will be taken up. The annual conference nominating committee for the board of directors will be voted upon and the resolutions adopted.

The conference will close Sunday afternoon, July 3, with a monster mass meeting in the municipal auditorium. The other sessions of the conference will be held in Shiloh Baptist church.

The keen interest in the Columbus conference is reflected in the very early advance registrations from branches in many sections of the country. Indications are that there will be a record attendance at Columbus.

### Walter White Threatened By KKK in Dallas, Texas

Threats by the Ku Klux Klan to injure Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and riot-inciting stories in two daily newspapers in Dallas, Tex., failed to prevent the New Yorker from delivering his speech in Dallas, Friday, April 29.

Mr. White, on a tour of southern states, was scheduled to speak to the Dallas Interracial Commission at the white Y.W.C.A. Friday afternoon, April 29, but after an advance notice of his speech had been published in the daily papers April 28, a movement was started by the Klan and the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Daughters of the Confederacy to prevent his speaking. Earl E. Hurt, commander of the Texas division of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, protested against the appearance of Mr. White.

Mr. Hurt called on District Attorney Andrew Patton to ascertain if there were any legal method of preventing Mr. White from making his speech, but was told by Mr. Patton that there was no law forbidding such a speech.

Pressure on the white Y.W.C.A. was so heavy that on the morning of April 29, they cancelled the meeting at their building and immediately the gathering was transferred to the Moorland Y.M.C.A., colored.

The Dallas *Journal*, which did everything possible to stir up race feeling, quoted George K. Butcher, leader of the Ku Klux Klan, as saying: "The Negro will not speak to the white women of Dallas tonight."

Despite the threat of Klansman Butcher, Mr. White did speak at the Moorland Y.M.C.A. and answered questions from the audience on the anti-lynching bill fight. About seventeen white people were present, includ-

ing a white woman who is chairman of the Texas division of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Also present were two instructors from Southern Methodist university (white) and a number of their students.

Mr. White's southern tour included speeches in Muskogee and Tulsa, Okla.; Dallas, Texas; Atlanta, Ga.; Talledega, Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama; New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La.; and Richmond, Va.

### Dallas Dailies Condemn Ban on Walter White

The attempt to prevent Walter White from speaking in Dallas, Tex., April 29, Dallas dailies had the following to say editorially.

Said the Dallas *Journal:* "Dallas leaders who seek to stir up hatred between white people and black people are up to no good, whether those leaders be of the one race or of the other . . . All that is mean and cowardly and cruel when done by the worst elements of German blood against a helpless Jewish minority in Vienna does not become noble and brave and humanitarian when proposed by the worst elements of American blood against a helpless Negro minority in Dallas . . . We have need to be on the alert against these professional haters."

From the Dallas *Morning News:* "Dallas's record on the score of civil liberties received another black mark Friday when the Dallas Interracial Commission was virtually forced to change from the Central Y.W.C.A. to the Moorland (colored) branch of the Y.M.C.A. a meeting at which a visiting Negro was the principal speaker . . . The fact that a police guard was considered advisable will tend to give Dallas an added reputation for intolerance . . . It is a pity that the activities of a few agitators who do not truly represent the city can so effectively give Dallas a black eye."

Again from the Dallas *Journal:* "White men who hold that the superiority of their race is threatened by the exercise of free speech by a Negro before an audience which has specially invited him to come and speak, have a queer idea of superiority. A superiority so frail that it cannot survive that must be pretty weak . . . Only the man who is uncertain about his social position makes a great noise about it."

### Picture Postcards Insult Race

Dean William Pickens, director of branches of the association, who is on leave lecturing for the United States public forums in and around Columbia, S. C., has filed a protest in the name of the N.A.A.C.P. with the Woolworth and Kress five and ten cent stores over the insulting postcards being sold in their stores in South Carolina and other southern states. Dean Pickens declares that the postcards picture Negroes as thieves. The Kress company replied immediately stating that they did not intend to insult any race and would take up the matter at once with their managers and purchasing agents.

The Woolworth company replied that it had gone over its stock of cards and did not find any insulting ones and "we find none of the type of which you claim we have on our counters, naming specifically Columbia, S. C."

In reply to that letter, Dean Pickens went to the Woolworth store in Columbia, S. C., and purchased on May 14 two postcards, one showing two colored boys crawling through a fence to get to watermelons. The other card shows the boys being caught by a white man who has a shot gun. The broken watermelon is on the ground between the two boys. These cards were sent to the manager of buying for the Woolworth stores in the New York headquarters. Whereupon the Woolworth company replied that the samples were of "material assistance" to them in running down the objectionable cards. They stated they were investigating through their southern office but had not received a reply as yet.

### Connally Says Republicans Needed for Filibuster

The proposition to have the southern senators filibuster against the wages and hours bill was given a douse of cold water by Senator Tom Connally of Texas, leader of the filibuster against the federal anti-lynching bill. Senator Connally is reported by the Washington newspaper men as saying that such a filibuster would not be a success because the Republicans would not give it united support.

This comment by Senator Connally is especially interesting because the Republican senators during the anti-lynching bill filibuster denied that they were responsible for its success. Now comes Connally saying that a filibuster cannot be a success without Republican support—which means that the anti-lynching filibuster would not have been successful had not the Republicans aided it.

### "Birth of a Nation" Causes Man's Arrest

The Orange, N. J., branch of the N.A.A.C.P. has caused the arrest of Adolph J. Rettig, manager of the Ormont theatre, for exhibiting the race-hating film, "The Birth of a Nation."

The warrant for his arrest was sworn out by Dr. Theodore R. Inge, president of the Orange branch, under a New Jersey law passed in 1935 designed originally to curb Nazi propaganda. The law bans any picture "which in any way incites, promotes, advocates or symbolizes hatred, violence, or hostility against any group of persons by reasons of race, color, religion, or manner of worship.

**Branches—elect your delegates to the 29th annual N.A.A.C.P. conference in Columbus, O., June 28–July 3.**

## Branch News

The **Marshalltown, Ia.,** branch met April 24 and reported thirty new members. Mrs. Christine McDonald, chairman of the relief department, arranged the program on which appeared Mrs. Willa Brown, I. L. Brown, Miss Rose Bannon, Lloyd Edson and the Rev. S. Nelson. The branch plans to hold a picnic on July 4.

Walter White was the speaker for the **Akron, O.,** branch April 22, reviewing the fight for the anti-lynching bill. Others who spoke were Samuel Kelly, Emmer Lancaster, Leonard Bertsch, and William Howard.

The **New Castle, Pa.,** branch met April 29 with the following persons on the program: Miss Zipporah Jackson, Dr. J. A. Gillespie, W. A. Maloney, Mrs. Thelma Steward, and Mrs. Anna Campbell.

The publicity committees of the senior and junior branches of **Morristown, N. J.,** held a joint meeting April 30.

The **Orange, N. J.,** branch has protested to Public Safety Director Caldwell against segregation in several theatres in town. The branch charges that colored patrons are directed to seats in certain sections of the theatres.

A testimonal reception was given April 21 to Clifford I. Moat, secretary of the **Media, Pa.,** branch for his many years of service to the N.A.A.C.P. and the community. The reception was sponsored by the **Media** and **Swarthmore** youth councils of the N.A.A.C.P., assisted by the senior branch.

Invocation was offered by the Rev. L. W. Stanford, pastor of the church; members of Asbury church choir, of Chester, rendered two numbers; Miss Mary E. Powell, of Lima, contributed a piano solo; Mrs. Mabel Lockwood, of Media, gave a reading; Percy Oliver Batipps, of Media, gave a brief historical sketch of the association; a piano solo was rendered by Mrs. Margaret Mayo Hampton, of Morton; Oscar B. Cobb, president of the Bryn Mawr branch, announced the speakers, and paid splendid tribute to Mr. Moat. The principal address of the evening was made by Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary to the national office and editor of THE CRISIS.

Mrs. Theodosia King Johnson is adviser of the Media council and Miss Gladys Quinlan of the Swarthmore council. Grant V. Freeman is president of the Media branch and Mr. Moat is secretary.

The membership campaign of the **Staten Island, N. Y.,** branch ended May 5 with a meeting in St. Phillip's Baptist church addressed by J. Leroy Jordan of Elizabeth. Nathan Dujon is president of the branch.

*(Continued on next page)*

The **Albany, N. Y.,** branch heard Dr. J. B. Robinson and Dr. R. E. Harris in a special program April 24. Music was provided by Miss Lottie Dixon, Miss Anne Cane, Mrs. Cassie Moore, Mrs. E. Hicks, Mrs. Grace Pitts, Mrs. LeRoy Collier and Julius Wilson.

E. Frederic Morrow, co-ordinator of branches for the Association, spoke April 24 for the **White Plains, N. Y.,** branch. Other speakers were the Rev. L. B. Hughes, of Greenburgh, and Charles Grice. Music was furnished by Emma Coles, Gloria Clarke and Mrs. Anna Belle Adams.

Dr. John A. Singleton, president of the **Jamaica, L. I.,** branch has been a member of the South Jamaica Housing Commission which has been organized to campaign to bring a low cost housing project to Central Queens Borough.

Dr. J. C. McKelvie was installed April 26 as president of the **Long Branch, N. J.,** branch. The ceremony was presided over by the Rev. James C. Choice. Other officers installed were: Mrs. Ethel M. Howard, vice-president; Miss A. Ruth Moore, secretary; Miss Charlotte Meade, assistant secretary; Mrs. Anna Mumby, treasurer; James H. Jones, chaplain. The following are committee chairmen: Membership, Mrs. Viola Reed; press and publicity, Andrew Brisbane; legal redress and legislation, the Rev. L. K. Jackson; labor and industry, William Newton; education, Miss Jeanette Sample; entertainment, Frisby E. Lawes.

The school board of Princeton, N. J., was told April 26 that the Witherspoon Street school (colored) was in a "deplorable" condition and that the main school and annex buildings were fire traps. The statement was made by Dr. D. W. Anthony, president of the **Princeton, N. J.,** branch, and newly elected president of the New Jersey State Conference of Branches of the Association.

Colored citizens of Princeton have been agitating for years over the school question. The state of New Jersey has both segregated and unsegregated school systems and Princeton is one of the towns where there is separation. In northern New Jersey the schools are mixed and there are some colored teachers. In Princeton, the one segregated elementary school accommodates the colored children in the town of Princeton and in the surrounding township. The township pays the town for each child accommodated at the school. The town school board has been refusing for years to improve the school or build a new one on the excuse that something might happen to the arrangement with the township whereby revenue in the form of tuition would be cut off and the town would be left with the full expense of maintaining the separate school. The Princeton branch of the N.A.A.C.P. is determined to press the board of education to act.

The **Pueblo, Colo.,** branch held its membership campaign during the month of April. At its May meeting, held May 1, the branch had for its principal speaker Harry Willcox, president of the local Credit Union Association, who described the work of his organization to the members of the branch. Others on the program were James Wadsworth and Mrs. R. K. Redd.

At its April meeting the **St. Louis, Mo.,** branch heard an address on "World Attitudes" by Ted Graham, former business agent of the Cleaners and Dye House Workers Union. At its May meeting on the third, the branch discussed the navy bill then pending in Congress.

The **Rahway, N. J.,** branch held a benefit concert May 12 to raise funds for the Association. Mrs. Hezekiah Fitch was general chairman of the affair.

## To Speak at Columbus Conference

*Senator Robert F. Wagner*

The **Huntington, W. Va.,** branch met April 3 and endorsed the plan to provide better housing conditions in the city under the National Housing Act. The branch also considered the bill now in Congress to provide federal aid to the states for education.

The **Beacon, N. Y.,** branch met April 11 with Miss Elizabeth Chappelle.

James Hare, 76, a veteran member of the **Topeka, Kans.,** branch, died April 9.

The newly reorganized **Dayton, O.,** branch heard an address April 15 by Miss Elsie Austin, assistant attorney general of Ohio, who spoke on the Ohio civil rights law.

The **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch on April 10 heard an address by Judge William Harrison of Chicago. At the regular May meeting of the branch on the eighth, Bruce Hull, registrar of West Virginia State college, was the speaker. Dr. and Mrs. Dennie Smith, Mrs. Nina Curry and Mrs. Maude Clark rendered musical numbers. This was the last of the regular forum meetings of the branch until next fall.

The **New Bedford, Mass.,** branch sponsored a violin recital by Charles McCabe of Philadelphia on May 8. Fred D. Bonner, president of the branch, stated that one or more concerts would be sponsored annually for the benefit of aspiring Negro artists.

At its April meeting, the **New Bedford** branch heard Jacob Minkin in an address on the proposed S. B. charter.

Dr. Fred Hopkins addressed the **Springfield, Mass.,** branch April 12 on "Cancer Control."

Mrs. Vivian Osborne-Marsh, national president of Delta Sigma Theta sorority, was the principal speaker May 9 at the meeting of the **Alameda County, Calif.,** branch. Byron Rumford was chairman of the program. Walter A. Gordon is president of the branch.

The **Tulsa, Okla.,** branch heard a brief speech at a luncheon by Walter White on April 28 as Mr. White passed through the city on his way from Columbus, O., to Muskogee to speak at the Oklahoma State Conference meeting.

The **Bryn Mawr, Pa.,** branch sponsored a talk by Walter White at a meeting in Roberts Hall, Haverford College, on May 15.

The **Portland, Ore.,** branch has reported to the national office the sum of $318.50 from its recently held membership campaign. Edgar Williams is president of the branch, Mrs. Gwendolyn Hooker secretary, and Ralph P. Flowers is treasurer.

The **Columbus, O.,** branch which is to entertain the annual conference in June, reached its quota of $1,200 in the membership campaign held from May 1–15 under the direction of Miss Juanita E. Jackson of the national office.

Mrs. Julia Townes, chairman of the membership drive of the **Jersey City, N. J.,** branch, reported a total of 186 new members as result of the recent campaign. This brings the membership to 250 and by June 1 it is hoped to have 300 members on the roll. The three captains bringing in the largest amounts of money were Mrs. Mary E. Pope, $90.50; Mrs. Marie Smith, $59.50; and Mrs. Thomas E. Baylor, $48. The Rev. E. P. Dixon is president of the branch. Among the speakers at the closing meeting of the drive were Mrs. Ethel Tynes of Bayonne, LeRoy Scurry, and Charles W. Carter.

James E. Allen, president of the **New York State Conference of Branches,** has written Frederick H. Ecker, chairman of the board of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., asking that colored people be admitted without discrimination to the huge housing project which will be erected by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. in the Bronx Borough of New York City.

The **Jersey City, N. J.,** branch is one of those which is placing The Crisis in the public libraries. The branch has paid for two subscriptions to The Crisis and the magazine is now going to two large branches of the Jersey City Public Library.

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, who was in the far West investigating N.Y.A. projects, addressed the **Albuquerque, N. M.,** branch May 8. An audience of 500 colored and white people heard Mrs. Bethune talk on the problems of Negroes in America. At the end of her speech a number of persons, both white and colored, took out memberships. A. L. Mitchell is president and Hobart L. LaGrone is secretary.

The **Tacoma, Wash.,** branch held a special program April 24 celebrating the diamond jubilee of the emancipation proclamation. More than twenty different religious, fraternal and civil organizations were present and their representatives made short talks. The Bethlehem Baptist choir rendered music. The branch announced that Dr. L. C. Bowling would be captain of the membership drive to extend through the month of May.

The **Huntington, W. Va.,** branch held its regular meeting May 1 in the Sixteenth Street Baptist church. The Rev. J. Carl Mitchell is president.

The newly elected officers and executive committee members of the **Rochester, N. Y.,** branch are: the Rev. Paul Schroeder, president; Miss Rebecca Rosenburg, vice-president; Mrs. Elsie P. Coles, secretary; Mrs. D. E. Ball, treasurer; John S. Brown, membership chairman; and Miss Mary Black, J. J. Scully, Professor Ray V. Bowers, Mrs. Louise Elsworth, Robert Walls, the Rev. James E. Rose, Mrs. Mary T. Gannett, the Rev. Frank L. Brown, Miss Estelle Fitzgerald, the Rev. David Rhys Williams, Rabbi Phillip S. Bernstein, Miss Elizabeth Hutchinson, Millard Latimer, Mrs. Walter Post, Harry Spencer, Dr. Meyer Jacobstein, Miss Eleanor Slater and the Rev. C. I. Henderson.

Secretary Walter White was the principal speaker May 6 on the opening night of the third annual conference of the southern branches of the N.A.A.C.P. at Mobile, Ala. The Rev. S. M. Johnson of Pensacola, Fla., presided. Others on the program were the Rev. J. C. Carson, J. E. Brown, W. D. Robins, Dr. E. B. Goode, Dr. C. W. Allen, president of the Mobile branch, J. L. LeFlore, Bishop W. T. Phillips, and Dr. A. W. Brazier, president of the New Orleans branch.

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# N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

## Job Crusade

The Philadelphia, Pa., youth council, under the leadership of its newly elected president, Miss Frances Gardner, has launched a crusade for "Better Jobs for Negro Youth." The addition of more than thirty members to the council has served to increase the enthusiasm of the group.

Still in the midst of their anti-discrimination campaign, the West Side council of the Detroit youth councils has embarked upon a job campaign, headed by its president, Horace Sheffield, II.

## Membership Campaigns

Youth councils all over the country are busy winding up successful spring membership campaigns.

The six Detroit youth councils set a goal of 1,000 members in their intensive drive, headed by Eddie Swan and Preston Powell. Final reports have not been made by the sixty teams, but there is every indication that the campaign will be a success. Gloster B. Current is chairman of the Central youth council committee.

The Muskogee, Okla., youth council is in the midst of a membership campaign with a goal of 200 members.

The Youngstown, O., youth council held a short but intensive membership drive from May 10–25. The goal was 300 members.

The Tulsa, Okla., youth council, under the direction of Miss Mary Pitman, membership chairman, is winding up its membership drive.

Although the membership campaign of the Boston branch officially ended on April 27, the youth council has continued its efforts to secure memberships. Checking lists of 1936 and 1937, it was found that a great many persons failed to renew their memberships. A committee, under the leadership of Reynold M. Costa, campaign chairman, is making a house-to-house canvass in order to secure these renewals. Their slogan is "Once a member, always a member."

## Michigan State Conference

The youth section of the Michigan State Conference of Branches convened at Lansing April 30 to May 1, with delegates from Grand Rapids, Port Huron, Muskegon, Kalamazoo, Flint, Pontiac, and the six Detroit youth councils. Group discussions were held on "Organizational Problems of the N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council," led by Gloster B. Current; "Use of the Ballot," led by Reverend John T. Miles; "Juvenile Delinquency," led by John Simmons; "Religious Intolerance and Race Prejudice," led by Pearl L. Walker; "Reduced Aid to Students in College," led by Edward Swan; "Threatening War," led by Albert Thompson; "Unemployment and Industrial Relations," led by Harold J. Jackson. Resolutions from these various discussion groups were presented to the conference for adoption.

## Oratorical Contest

A prelude to the New York State Conference of N.A.A.C.P. branches was the oratorical contest sponsored by the New Rochelle, N. Y., youth council, May 6. Miss Martha Lockette, president of the New Rochelle youth council, presided. The meeting was opened with the singing of "Lift Every Voice and Sing." Miss Beryl Richardson was declared the winner of the contest. Other speakers on the program were James E. Allen, president of the New York State Conference, who declared that a new spirit is animating Negro youth today that is more agressive than any heretofore manifested.

Miss Martha Booker reported on the activities of the New Rochelle youth council, declaring that additional books on Negro life had been placed in New Rochelle high school library. She also stated that Miss Lockette spoke before a Senate committee in Washington recently on the condition of Negro youth in Westchester.

A recitation, "The Negro in Education," was given by Oscar Martin of Mt. Vernon. A skit, "The March of Time" was presented by the council. Musical numbers by Jack Bartee, Susan Young, and the Phi Delta Quartet composed of David Boddie, Mark Henderson, George Rhett and John Morrison, completed the program.

## Chicago Quarterly Ready

The Chicago youth council will have the first issue of its official quarterly ready for distribution in June. At present, the council is absorbed in raising funds with which to send delegates to the annual conference in Columbus, Ohio. Officers are: Thelma Johnson, president; Herman Lawrence, vice-president; Sarah Merchant, recording secretary; Hylda Hudson, correspond-

*(Continued on next page)*

ing secretary; Elliot Thompson, treasurer; Joseph Guinn, parliamentarian; Larry Smith, sergeant-at-arms; Carranza Sloane, liaison officer.

Chairmen of standing committees are: Margaret Taylor, program committee; Gwendolyn Brooks, press and publicity; Carranza Sloane, civil liberties; Evelyn Ganns, social; Elliot Thompson, finance. Mrs. Frances Taylor-Mosely, sponsor.

### Judge Rainey Speaks

The material and cultural progress of the Negro and the effect of the depression on the race was discussed by Magistrate Joseph H. Rainey on May 6 at a meeting of the Springfield, Mass., youth council at the Third Baptist church. Judge Rainey, a native of Springfield and former commissioner of athletics in Pennsylvania, is now a magistrate in Philadelphia. He stated that there is a large percentage of Negroes on welfare rolls, and it was the duty of majority groups to aid minority groups in finding independent jobs. A reception for the speaker followed the meeting at which time a musical program was rendered.

### Miss L. Pearl Mitchell Speaks in Detroit

On Wednesday, April 20, at the New Franklin Street Settlement House, the Detroit N.A.A.C.P. youth councils were addressed by Miss L. Pearl Mitchell of Cleveland, O., member of the national board of directors, on the subject: "Do We Have a Goal?" Miss Mitchell outlined the platform of the N.A.A.C.P., told of its ever-continuing battle for the Negro's liberty, and reviewed its many court fights.

The address was delivered at the Detroit council's first annual fellowship dinner dance in honor of the Cleveland youth council of which Miss Mitchell is the adviser. Cleveland youth council members present were Robert Williams, Ordelia Bradley, Edna Watson and Mr. Dooley.

Miss Mabel Windrow was general chairman of the affair; Gloster B. Current, toastmaster, and Miss Mitchell was introduced by Dr. James J. McClendon, president of the Detroit senior branch.

### Boston Prepares for Conference

At the regular meeting of the Boston youth council on April 30, a fund-raising committee was appointed to devise ways and means of sending delegates to the annual conference. The committee, under the leadership of Miss Alice Rollins, held a tea, May 22, at the Robert Gould Shaw House. Other members of the committee who helped complete arrangements were Misses Alice Johnson, Maryland Rodgers, Reverend A. Roger Williams, Robert Brooks and Howard Daniels. The committee has planned a dance to be held the middle of June.

### News Notes

A meeting of the junior youth council of the Stamford, Conn., branch was held in May at the home of Earl Smith, 30 Rose Park.

The Birdhurst group of the Detroit youth council resumed debating at their regular meeting, May 5. Meetings are held at the Birdhurst Recreation Center every Thursday from 7 to 9 p. m.

The Highland Park youth council of Detroit is engaged in a ballot drive. In this connection, a mass meeting has been planned for the near future. The council has made the best report to date on the New Crusade for Liberty buttons.

The North Detroit youth council has moved its weekly meeting place to the Schoolcraft public library, due to its expanding program and membership.

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## More Branch News

The **New York State Conference of Branches** adopted resolutions at the close of its meeting in New Rochelle May 8, protesting against the proposal to exclude colored people from the housing project of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. to be located in the Bronx, New York City; endorsing equal salaries for Negro and white teachers in southern states; protesting the decision in the Cockburn housing case in Westchester County, denying Negroes occupancy of property on ground of covenant restrictions; asking that all housing resolutions adopted by the New York State Constitutional Convention include safeguards against discrimination; and pledging a fight for reapportionment, for adequate housing, for employment in public utilities, and private industry in New York State.

Dean William Pickens, who is on leave from the N.A.A.C.P., addressing United States Public Forums in and around Columbia, S. C., spoke on May 15 in the Township Auditorium in Columbia to 6,000 persons who were there on the state pilgrimage from adult education centers.

### Gilpin Players

As the fifth production of their seventeenth season, the Gilpin Players of Cleveland, O., presented "Little Ham," a comedy of Negro life by Langston Hughes at the Karamu Theatre in Cleveland, May 25–June 5.

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# BOOK NEWS and REVIEWS

## C. I. O. vs. A. F. of L.

**LABOR ON THE MARCH by Edward Levinson. Harper and Brothers, New York. $3.00.**

Outlining, as it does, the vast upheaval in American industry which has brought more than 3,000,000 workers into the organized labor movement since January, 1937, Edward Levinson's second book, "Labor on the March," could hardly be expected to touch in detail the problems and participation of the Negro in the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization. This necessary omission however does not detract from the value of the author's incisive analysis of the trade union struggle in this country. Rather, "Labor on the March" erects a sturdy framework on which some student of Negro labor may outline the part the colored worker has played and has been forced to play in this movement.

Mr. Levinson, crack labor editor of the *New York Post,* outlines the historical background and traces the current developments of the struggle between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. Openly a C. I. O. partisan, the author shows little bias in sketching the issues and etching the personalities behind the basic struggle. Most of the facts in the well-documented book were gathered in his day-by-day coverage of the events described.

Starting with the death of Sam Gompers, the little immigrant cigar-maker whose craft union policy of "voluntarism" made the A. F. of L. a static institution which set its face against any change, the book describes little known facts of the inner fight for power. It shows how John L. Lewis, leader of the miners, blighted the hopes of Matthew Woll, "the Crown Prince," and forced the election of William Green, then secretary-treasurer of the miners and an advocate of industrial unionism. And how the collapse of Coolidge normalcy and prosperity reduced the strength of Lewis' miners with the result that Green shifted his allegiance from the group which made him to the craft leaders in the teamsters, electricians, carpenters and machinists. Therefore when the miners again became powerful under the NRA and Roosevelt, Green found himself the champion not of his "own people," but of the craft unionists who had opposed his original election.

Mr. Levinson's biting characterizations of the industrial and craft union leaders throw almost as much light on the causes of the eventual rift as does his calm discussion of the conflicting philosophies. He pictures Green, the Odd Fellow, Elk, and Baptist as a diplomat without cunning, the aspiring labor politician who had offended fewer people at the top than any other leader. John P. Frey, who with Matthew Woll poses as the intellectual of the craft unionists, is termed a philosopher of a movement which has no philosophy, the brooder over the dry bones of Gompers "voluntarism." John L. Lewis is called forceful and domineering, and the craft leaders are doubly angry at this "bull of Bashan" because he once slept comfortably in the same bed with them.

The craft leaders come off second best in the descriptions, of necessity, but Mr. Levinson might be accused of pulling his punches when dealing with the C. I. O. heads. David Dubinsky's vacillating actions, and Charles P. Howard's rather untenable position as an official of both groups are glossed over. More space might have been devoted, too, to that period in Lewis's career when he was as reactionary and blind as the other A. F. of L. leaders.

The author makes an inevitable comparison of the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor (from which the A. F. of L. split as a dual organization) with the C. I. O. and sees the latter as "the newest and the greatest effort of American labor to teach and practice the lessons of solidarity." Because the C. I. O. is not loaded down with the Knights' "excess baggage and lack of direction," Mr. Levinson believes that it will escape the latter's fate.

A few Negro labor leaders emerge momentarily from the pages of the book. Foremost, of course, is A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, whose mental equipment and college training, Levinson holds, is resented by Frey and other craft leaders. The Negro Socialist is shown at his best in the description of the Denver convention:

"Randolph rose to the defense of the C. I. O., while the craft unionists stared in angry amazement at the foolhardiness of a man who, in addition to committing the crime of being a Negro, was also siding with the new labor movement."

At the other end of the pole, of course, is David G. Grange, "The Emperor," the unscrupulous Negro seaman who rose to the top in the I. S. U. and plundered the union treasury while setting up Jim-crow hiring halls for members of his race.

E. B. McKinney of the sharecroppers, Arthur Adams, coke worker in the steel mills and several lesser known Negro labor leaders are mentioned in passing.

"Labor on the March" is well-documented, interestingly written, and a splendid example of history written in the making. No student of the labor movement should be without it.

—TED POSTON

## Mutiny on the Mountain

**A Review by George S. Schuyler**

**THE COLOUR BAR. By Peter Nielsen. Juta and Co., Ltd., Cape Town and Johannesburg, South Africa. Price $1.87.**

Calling all Negrophobes! Mobilize to protect the sacred Olympus of Aryanism! Bring on the Caucasian GPU! Requisition additional ammunition, tar, feathers and blow torches for the Ku Klux Klan. For another traitor is stirring up mutiny on the mountain.

*(Continued on next page)*


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His name is Peter Nielsen and his book is as incendiary as a thermite bomb in an oil tank. His 150 pages of wit and wisdom, his capable refutation of the charges of Negro inferiority and his brilliant analysis of race prejudice will win him no laurel wreaths or medals in that wilderness of colorphobia—South Africa, but the intellectual minority of the world owes him a debt of thanks. Without hypocrisy he attacks the color problem in his country, and his keenness and frankness are refreshing at a time when both colored and white people are fiddling with mouth-filling phrases and the flames of race prejudice encircle the earth.

Being honest, the author realizes that the so-called colored problem is basically a sexual problem, and that educational, economic, and social restrictions imposed on the darker peoples in Africa and everywhere else are predicated upon the necessity (as prejudiced whites see it) of denying racial equality in order to maintain racial monopoly. As in South Africa, so in the United States and a score of other lands.

"Today," says Neilsen, "the fear that gnaws at the heart of white South Africa is the fear not of hostility from overwhelming numbers of savage black men, but of friendliness and intimacy between civilized black men and white women . . . Today this collective fear in white men seen here as the root-cause of the whole attitude and disposition of the whites generally towards the natives is not recognized by many people as such because it has been masked by the rationalization which represents it as the result of reasoned apprehension in all white people, men and women, of loss of their civilization through intermarriage with the mentally inferior black people following from close contact and unfair economic competition. The fear, therefore, of which the whites as a whole are conscious today is the fear of losing their racial superiority by the mixing of their blood with that of the aboriginals of Africa . . ."

The author admits what every observant person knows: that despite all talk about alleged racial differences and body odor, the opposite sexes of the two races are mutually attractive and that it is with the greatest difficulty they are kept apart.

"The sexual impulse overrides the olfactory antipathy," he says "and thus disproves the suggestion of biological value in racial odour . . . (which) is nevertheless not sufficiently strong to outweigh the attraction which the women of each race have for the men of the other . . . The attraction which white women have for black men is undeniable . . . the protestation so often made by and for the educated natives that they harbour no desire for white women, but are content always with their own is at best a pious lie not to be seriously believed."

A vein of grim wit runs through Neilsen's little book. He tells of the white missionary who used force to break up a romance between his sister and a personable Negro, and comments: "the white missionary had been eager to accept the black man as his brother in Christ but he could not accept him as his brother-in-law."

He speaks of a white gathering where miscegenation was unanimously denounced, "despite the fact that there were those among them who showed in complexion and features, as do so many of the whites in South Africa, strong evidence of the mixture of blood they had all there and then condemned."

He scoffs at the popular superstition invented by pseudo-scientists that the whites and blacks are unequal mentally and emotionally. He sees no bad effects of miscegenation, declaring of mixed bloods that "the proportion of dull wits amongst them has always seemed to be as large as it is amongst whites and blacks."

He thinks that "the miscegenation of black and white will in the future occur not only, as it has hitherto mostly occurred, on culturally low levels common to both parties, but also on the higher levels of college education and general culture to which the Natives are beginning to make their way."

But, on the whole, he is not optimistic, having studied the human race objectively. "Not love but enmity for all, except those of our own tribe, nation or race, is the motive power behind all human progress." Of the racialist he remarks, "though his scope for hatred has been enlarged to include the men of all tribes and nations apart from his own, he still finds it easy to love the women of those alien races."

He has little good to say of the white missionaries. "Like the rest of the whites they accept the argument that political equality cannot be permitted without thereby paving the way for social equality, and that social equality cannot continue without miscegenation, wherefore the present racial prejudice of the whites must by all means be upheld. I, at least, have never met a white missionary who was prepared to accord full social equality, with all that implies, to any Native." He avers that "the real religion of most white people is not Christianity but Colorphobia."

He believes that "Unless real separation of the races can be enforced and maintained we shall be no more able to prevent the impending change in Africa than our ancestors in Europe were able to prevent the successive stages of civilization through which they passed." And he speaks of the "collective cruelty" of the whites who encourage the Africans in learning the arts and crafts of civilization "and then refuse to let them practice in competition with white men what they have learned, lest by doing so they should eventually succeed in enforcing social equality between the two races."

"Is it not true," he asks, "that when we come to face the actualities of life we who are white and civilized do even as the primitive savages?" And adds, "The ideal of human equality regardless of race now seems farther away from being realized than ever it was." Every sane student of the race problem in the United States will say "Amen!" to that.

While territorial and industrial separation may, as he thinks, be "the only practicable policy" in view of the color insanity of the whites and the submissive indifference of the blacks, it will never be enforced. The whole structure of white supremacy is based on the exploitation and degradation of black people and would promptly collapse without them. White civilization was a puny thing before the colored races were enslaved; it will return to mediocrity when they are freed.

Knowing this full well, the white powers-that-be will continue the present policy of exploitation, ghetto segregation and social ostracism enforced by the police and armies, endorsed by the professors, legalized by the politicians and blessed by the church. A few "traitors" like Mr. Neilsen will object. They will be denounced as Negrophiles and be dismissed.

## A Picture of French Guiana

### RETOUR DE GUYANE. By L. G. Damas, Paris, Librairie José Corti, 1938.

During the past two months, the literary production of French Negroes has been remarkable. René Maran's *Livingstone* and a new edition of *Batouala*, Gratient Candace's study of the French navy, Claude and Madeleine Carbet's collection of poems: *Piment Rouge*, and Hazoumé's novel of his native Dahomey represent an intellectual activity that stands as a challenge to their American *frères de couleur*. L. G. Damas, whose little book of poems: *Pigments*, has attracted considerable attention since its publication last spring, is one of the more important members of this unusual group. In *Retour de Guyane*, he proves that his prose is as trenchant and as courageous as his verse.

Damas was born in French Guiana twenty-eight years ago. After several years in the Guiana and Martinique schools, he came to Paris to complete his education. Four years ago, because of his excellence in ethnology, he was sent by the Trocadero Museum to study certain primitve tribes in the Guiana brush. The scientific results of that mission have not yet been made public, but *Retour de Guyane* offers adequate evidence that the bushmen, or *Nègres Bosh* of Guiana would have little cause for envying the natives in the more civilized districts of the colony.

In the West Indies and Africa, France has colonized with at least relative intelligence and humanity; but in Guiana, says Damas, three centuries of French domination have had but one result, an abomination: the prison. After an eloquent exposé of the lack of foresight of the earliest French colonists, the author traces the history and influence of the famous penal colony. He shows the harmful social and economic effects of a system which forces an ex-convict to remain in the colony for a period equal to the length of his sentence. He flays the injustice of keeping free labor idle while convict labor works or pretends to work under a woefully corrupt administration. In righteous indignation, he attacks a régime which allows convicts to go on strike when they are supposed to be making roads; that makes Guiana, one of the richest countries in farm and pasture land, import rice, beef, and other foodstuffs. Like many other friends of Guiana, he feels that the prison should be abolished. Realizing, however, that this alone will not solve the colony's problems, he insists that France "either colonize Guiana or evacuate it."

Throughout the book, Damas uses language that is equally strong and logic that is just as irrefutable. Ironically, he describes Guiana's educational system, which he finds inferior to that of the French West African possessions:

"This education includes neither the history nor the geography of the American continent where the individual lives . . . This strange instruction invariably has to do with a country called Gaul . . . Pro-slavery Napoleon is the great emperor . . ." (p. 96-97).

The author reserves his most forceful invectives, however, for the deputy from Guiana, who was until recently an important official

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at the Colonial Ministry, "a deputy who has done nothing for the country of his birth nor for his adopted country, a black minister who has never done anything for Negroes either American or African, except to take it upon himself to speak in their name." (p. 92). This type of attack occurs on several occasions, adding a possible suggestion of personal animosity to an otherwise thoroughly objective work.

Schools, roads, government and prison vie with each other in maladministration and inefficiency in Guiana. The conditions which M. Damas describes in Cayenne are deplorable, but the horror of rural life in the colony is almost unbelievable. All of the doctors, for example, live in Cayenne. As the roads are bad, "the physician visits the village once a month. And whatever his condition, the patient has to go to him. Sometimes that means forty or fifty kilometers." (p. 139). The chapter on the leper colony depicts scenes that would be impossible even in the deepest south of the United States.

The solution, as M. Damas sees it, can come from one of two sources. First, France can and should be brought to realize the natural wealth of her colony. She should reorganize her administration in Guiana so as to develop those natural resources. In this attempt at intelligent colonization, she should count on the Young Guard—a small group comprising the Negro élite of Guiana, who have already begun to think seriously about the future of the colony. A first step in this direction would be the working of the numerous gold mines in Guiana.

The second solution is suggested on several occasions in *Retour de Guyane*. If France continues to neglect the colony, Uncle Sam—whose Pan American Airways already link Cayenne to Miami—will be only too glad to move in. This menace is eloquently expressed in the author's last sentence. He urges France to take heed "for the honor of forty million people who, today, hardly bother about the existence of this colony, and know only that it is the country's garbage-can, but who, tomorrow, run the risk of seeing in this same Guiana, already dying, the beginning of the end of the French Empire." (p. 203).

In short, M. Damas has britten a brilliant but bitter book, with a courage which even his opponents must admire.

MERCER COOK.

# The Call

(*Continued from page* 174)

and in celebration, a 72-page tenth anniversary edition was issued. A graduate of the University of Nebraska school of journalism was employed and placed in charge of the newly-opened Kansas City, Kansas, office. A graduate of the University of Kansas journalism school was added and she developed a kiddie's page in addition to aiding with general editing. A reporter on social activities, a sports editor, and additional mechanics went on the payroll.

Copying the creed of The Denver Post —"a dog fight on Arapahoe street is more important than a war in Europe"— The Call concentrated on local news coverage with the result that for the past ten years it has sold as many papers in the metropolitan area of Kansas City as there are Negro families. It did not neglect Western Missouri and Kansas, however, and built a distributon through agents who paid in advance for papers that brought scores of towns into The Call family of readers.

*C. A. FRANKLIN*
*Editor, The Call*

*MRS. CLARA B. FRANKLIN*
*"Mother" of The Call*

### Employes Share Ownership

In 1931, Mr. Franklin, then sole owner, incorporated the Kansas City Call Company in order to reward some faithful employes with an interest in the business. Geneva M. Brown, graduate of Wilberforce university, secretary of the company, Fred D. Brown, the foreman, and Mother Franklin were among that group. That act gives an insight into the family relationship which characterizes The Call staff. Men and women stay in its service and naturally they perfect themselves. As a result key workers in several of the leading publications are Call-trained. Roy Wilkins, now of THE CRISIS, was its first managing editor. Two pressmen out of the number who handle the high-speed presses now owned by other Negro newspapers learned their trade at The Call. Practically every newspaper of size has some in its employ who speak with pride of their days out west with The Call.

The paper's latest deviation from the ordinary way of doing things is the making of a woman, Miss Lucille Bluford, its managing editor. Fresh from the University of Kansas school of journalism, she began work as an assistant. When the vacancy came it was natural that she advance. Besides Kansas U. graduates, The Call has from Minnesota, Earl W. Wilkins, brother of Roy Wilkins, as advertising manager; from Nebraska, Milton Bledsoe, manager of the Kansas City, Kansas, branch of The Call; from Wilberforce, Mrs. Vashti Phelps, circulation manager. Other schools represented by graduates on The Call staff are Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes.

Like many newspapers, The Call holds an annual cooking school, with such tremendous attendance and interest that merchants who participate pay it the compliment of being the best school given by any newspaper in the city. This year, Mrs. Hallie Carper, a colored St. Louisan, was the demonstrator. Of Mrs. Carper, representatives of the local gas company, experienced in such affairs, said she was the best they had ever had.

### Independent in Politics

The Call is a leader among Negro newspapers in the volume and variety of the advertising it carries. Until the depression cut down family incomes, it ranked with the dailies for the amount of the return for each dollar invested in its advertising. Some of its former salesmen hold high places in the East now.

Being off the beaten path where experienced persons are to be found, The Call has built its staff chiefly out of raw material. This may account for the universal circulation it enjoys. Its men

(*Continued on next page*)

and women, being fresh from the people, reflect their tastes and are able to please them.

In politics the paper is independent, having supported a Democrat for governor and a Republican for president at the same election. Its circulation is unaffected by its political position, the average sales showing little variation from that cause. At its last audit its average net paid was 20,014 copies. The distribution is greatest in Missouri. It is the largest Negro paper in that state. In Kansas it regularly circulates more papers than all other papers. Out of this immediate neighborhood it spreads West and South, making it truly the "Southwest's Leading Weekly."

## Southern Youth

(*Continued from page* 171)

at the conference vitalizing interest in the cultural heritage of the Negro race. The attitudes expressed showed in every respect the vigor and the sanity with which the new Negro youth of the South is approaching its tasks. The old tendency to appraise and to rest upon what has already been done is replaced with the determination not only to preserve the culture of our forefathers but also to extend that heritage. Young artists at the conference spoke as one in favor of a conscious art, rooted in the lives, the struggles, and aspirations of the vast numbers of our race—an art for the people and of the people.

This is the idea upon which the Richmond Community Theater, under the leadership of Thomas Richardson, has been based, an experiment whose success last year has been noted. They will work and look forward to the establishment of people's theaters and art centers in large communities where the work of the artist may be consciously directed toward the social development of our people. There the artist himself may be strengthened by the knowledge that he has an audience, a purpose, and a goal which his understanding of his people can help him reach.

### Health Problems

Every problem which these young people discussed reflected their most urgent needs and most cherished ideals. In singling out the problems which Negro youth face today, they gave prominent place to those which immediately concerned their intimate lives: religion, health, and marriage and home life. They urge adult leadership in the church to see the need of training young people for Christian leadership, and to cooperate with youth in making the church a force in the movement for social progress.

They want to preserve their homes, and to make successful married lives possible for Negro youth. They point to the high mortality rate in Negro communities; they know that the tuberculosis death rate among Negroes is double the figure for the white race, that among all American young people, one out of every six is a victim of venereal disease. Both as members of the Negro race and as young people, they will work for the eradication of these diseases, mobilizing the support of their communities for the national campaign against venereal diseases, and for the work of the National Tuberculosis Association. Even where health prevails, however, and there is some economic security, happy marriage and home life is not completely assured. They recognize the need of enlightened guidance for young people, and recommend the institution of required courses in marriage and homemaking for all young men and young women in high schools and colleges.

Again and again throughout the days of the conference, the observer was struck with the immediate practicality which these young people applied to the discussion of their situation and of ways of meeting the needs of the South. Abstract arguments and appeals were not in the order of the day. They had indicated that there was a practical means of meeting the employment situation and of securing the right to work, of remedying the inadequacies of their educational system and of extending the cultural heritage of the race.

### Growth Since Richmond Meeting

There had been a marked development since the 1937 Richmond conference. The First All-Southern Negro Youth Conference had astonished the South: it was unique; it had no precedent. Among adult observers some were skeptical of this awakening of youth, and looked to see only a minor explosion of young people against the traditions and standards of their elders. None questioned the need of organizing for progressive action in the South, but many were openly pessimistic about its possibilities of survival and success. The young delegates, themselves, at last year's Richmond conference, experienced many uncertainties; they were groping in their deliberations for first, definite formulations to represent the

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—Health and Accident Insurance: $26,895,069.37
—Employment: 8,150 Negroes
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hitherto unexpressed desire of Southern Negro youth for economic and cultural opportunities and for fuller citizenship rights. Secondly, they needed some form of unified organization to make possible the attainment of the goals they would establish for themselves. At Richmond these things were accomplished, and a permanent federation of organizations set up with overwhelming enthusiasms; the Chattanooga Conference was to be for the watching South a first test of whether the youth had deliberated wisely and planned with foresight. The test was met successfully.

The broader representation of the conference over last year; its penetration into every state in the South; the far greater extent of adult interest and participation in its work; the welcome extended to it by the liberal white elements in the South; above all, the concrete steps it has taken in the past year and its outlines for the next were the proof.

Now, with the initial period of experimentation behind it, the Southern Negro Youth Congress faces its second year. This year shall undoubtedly see a larger number of Negro votes polled in the South, the growth of a right-to-vote campaign among the disfranchised, the more rapid entrance of Negroes into the progressive labor unions, and an increasing collaboration between Negroes and progressive white Southerners. Southern youth realize more acutely than others can the importance of a related, but indigenous movement for a section of the country that has been the last to yield to the trends of the new day. The Southern Negro Youth Congress, then, is no separatist movement. From its incipiency its aims have coincided with those of all American youth. As it grows in strength and influence, it will become an inseparable part of the present day crusade of all American youth for democracy and opportunity.

## Atlantic City Theatre Case

Two grand juries in Atlantic City, N. J., before whom the case of Mrs. Laura Allmond was heard, have failed to bring in an indictment. Mrs. Allmond was the victim of a brutal assault by a ticket taker at the Royal theatre on November 8, when in company with a friend, Mrs. Audrey Tildon, she attempted to sit in the so-called white section of the theatre. The Atlantic City Civil Rights League, not satisfied with the developments in the matter, has decided to take the case to a higher court and out of Atlantic County entirely. The N.A.A.C.P. State Conference of Branches, through Charles Carter of Jersey City, of the legal staff, has interested itself in the case.

*The Jane Speed Book Store in Birmingham, Ala.*

ONE of the most significant milestones in liberalism was reached in October when Jane Speed's Book Store opened at 1907 Fifth avenue, N., in Birmingham, Ala. To some persons, the opening of a book store may not seem to be news, but the opening of this book shop in Birmingham is decidedly news, for it's a liberal shop offering magazines, papers, and books, dealing with a great variety of subjects of interest to labor.

Not the least important phase of the enterprise is the fact that a number of books and magazines dealing with the Negro are on display. THE CRISIS is among the publications on sale and books by or about Negroes are also on sale.

Last year, or even early in this year, it did not seem to liberals that the Birmingham spirit would ever permit the opening of such an establishment as the Jane Speed Book Store, for Birmingham was in the grip of a fear of liberalism and radicalism and this fear resulted in the oppression of practically all liberal activities.

To understand the Speed store, one has to know Jane Speed, the young owner, and her mother, Mrs. Mary Craik Speed. The Speeds, mother and daughter, became interested in labor problems some years ago and in the race problem. They are members of an old southern family and their breaking away from some of the traditions of the South did not register well with other members of their family or their friends. They became interested in the

*(Continued on next page)*

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plight of the sharecroppers and in the efforts to organize them into a union. They became interested also in the Scottsboro case and they have broadened their activity to include many fronts of the labor struggle.

Miss Speed was born in Montgomery, Ala. Her father is a wealthy civil engineer and inventor and her family has been socially, politically and financially prominent. In 1932, she broke away from all this by investigating the condition of the sharecroppers in Tallapoosa, Ala., and requesting an investigation by the governor. The family was horrified and Jane and her mother decided to move elsewhere. Jane came on to New York where she enlarged her acquaintances among the liberal and progressive groups. She returned to Alabama and after working quietly, managed to open her book store.

The store contains several striking oil paintings by white artists of Negroes. It is a small shop and like all such ventures, is laboring under financial strain and welcomes at all times contributions of books or cash, although cash is preferred since such items as rent, heat and light must be cared for.

## Colleges

(*Continued from page* 176)

should continue their efforts by peaceful means to gain further entry into white businesses dependent upon Negro patronage. This movement should be carried down to southern cities where conditions warrant such action.

### Changes in Curricula

To carry out fully the above objectives, the general business curriculum of the Negro college will have to be *slightly* different from that of the white college. The few necessary innovations are not to be based upon any racial characteristics of the Negro, but upon the lamentable fact that he occupies the status of an outcast in the American social order. It is a historical fact that two races, with obvious physical differences, cannot live together on a basis of complete equality without gradual but inevitable and complete fusion; the alternative is domination of one race by the other. A minority group, however, has to adopt a practical program, albeit only a temporary one, while it is waiting for Time to adjust matters in his own slow way. The above observations are made as a reply to the protests of those over-sensitive Negroes who feel rather strongly that any attempt to build a separate curriculum for Negroes is an admission of inferior mental capacity on the part of their race. No such thoughts are entertained by the writer in seeking a slightly but properly modified general business curriculum for the Negro college.


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## Letters from Readers

### Realistic Position

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I was very much interested in the article in your May issue entitled "The Crisis is 'Not Approved'." May I say that I am convinced that your attitude is wholly correct? However distasteful the word "nigger" is, I do not see how a writer of fiction can deal realistically with Negroes and with Negro-white relationships without the use of this word.

Perhaps you can derive some consolation from the fact that "The Playboy of the Western World" was pelted off the stage in Dublin. In general, no people likes to see itself treated realistically in fiction.

The charge that THE CRISIS prints articles "which are objectionable to the white race" is so absurd that it merits no comment.

JAMES HENLE, President
Vanguard Press

New York, N. Y.

### Anniversary

*Flash*, the picture magazine, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., celebrated its first anniversary with a special issue May 3.


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